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A EULOGY OF ACHILLES*

by

ROBERT ZABOROWSKI

In memoriam of Kostas Kalimtzis

ABSTRACT: We often hear about Achilles' wrath as being a central theme of the *Iliad* and about its destructive character. In my paper I intend to offer a different reading and to make a strong case for his outstanding personality. To do this, after an introduction, I shall, firstly, reconstruct the sequence of events relevant to Achilles' responses, then I shall make sense of his responses and exploit them in order to set up Achilles' internal biography. Next, I shall consider the counterfactual in the light of Aristotle's correctness criteria for anger to see whether any better option was available to Achilles. I conclude by considering Achilles' mental progress.

1. INTRODUCTION

According to the *communis opinio* the *Iliad* is a poem about the wrath of Achilles[1] which has as its outcome the most terrible consequences both for the Achaean army and for Achilles himself[2]. For instance, in his celebrated dictionary Pierre Grimal succinctly summarises the *communis opinio* thus: "l'*Iliade*, dont le sujet est, non la prise de Troie, mais la colère d'Achille, *qui, au cours de cette expédition, faillit causer la perte de l'armée grecque*" (Grimal 1951:

* I started the project in November 2007 at the Foundation Hardt. A first version was presented in November 2007 at the Unité de langue et littérature grecques anciennes, University of Geneva. The penultimate version was completed during another stay at the Foundation Hardt in September/October 2018. This was an unexpected and happy coincidence to meet there Graham Zanker with whom I could speak about Achilles and who also commented kindly on the last draft (*per nuntium electronicum*, March 2022). I thank him a lot. I am grateful also to Jan Kucharski, Claudia Luchetti and two anonymous referees of "Eos" for their remarks. Naturally, any remaining defects are my own.

[1] The paper's scope is restricted to the Iliadic Achilles exclusively.

[2] I am not claiming that this is the *only and exclusive* reading. My point is that this is by far a general trend of seeing Achilles with an impact going beyond the Homeric studies and even the classics. For alternative readings, less traditional, more comprehensive in my view, see e.g. Bezantakos (1980), Monsacré (1984), Zanker (1994), Shay (1995), Battezzato (2019).

5, my emphases)[3]. This picture of Achilles was created as early as Antiquity[4]. More particularly, even if several of Achilles' "milder qualities" and "civilised characteristics" were not denied, "Achilles was taken by many Hellenistic philosophers for the archetype of the man of violence, a slave to his emotions, and they were very ready to contrast him with Odysseus, the man of judgement" (Grimal 1990: 10)[5].

The Hellenistic and, more specifically, Stoic reading of Achilles may be influenced by the Stoic approach to affectivity, which, in a word, is to be extirpated altogether. Obviously, Achilles, the man of heart and affection[6] cannot be praised by the Stoics. However, it remains that they could have been interested

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[3] I make reference to the original version, because the English version (Grimal 1990: 5) is more concise: "the *Iliad*, which has as its main theme not the capture of Troy but the 'wrath of Achilles'". See also Kershaw 2007: 336: "Akhilleus is likewise pre-eminently concerned about his own status. To modern readers he seems to be motivated by personal vendetta, lacking social responsibility, or just plain childish [...]. He is obsessive about this [i.e. his value/worth/honour] and exhibits a powerful drive towards self-assertion". Characteristically and visibly, it is assumed that there is such a thing as modern readers' picture of Achilles. Compare Graves (1960: 603), who simply speaks about "Achilles [who], in a rage, announced that he would take no further part in the War". A different reading is unusual. See for instance Most (2004: 54), for whom "the theme of the poem is not just anger, but the relation between anger and pity". As he adds, such "suggestion [...] [which] will doubtless strike at least some of its [i.e. the *Iliad*] readers as strange". See the following note.

[4] And has become particularly in vogue since 19th c. See Battezzato 2019: 123: "I commentatori sono stati duri con Achille, almeno a partire dall'Ottocento" and 123–125 for examples which start which Grote (1846) and go on with Leaf (1892), Bowra (1930), Owen (1947), Finley (1977), and, with some qualification, Most (2004), to end with Ahrensdorf (2014) who set a criticism even more vehement than is noted by Battezzato. See Ahrensdorf 2014: 81: "His [i.e. Achilles'] anger, then, is unjust, for it is out of proportion to the wrong that was done and ignores the contrition of the wrongdoers. [...] The reasons for his anger are removed, and still he persists in anger. [...] Later in the poem, after Hector slays Patroclus, Achilles seems similarly unjust in his anger". Since no argument is provided for these claims I wonder if they are not a part of ideologisation of Achilles. To these I can add Fantuzzi 2012: 100: "Achilles' μῆνις [...] is emphasized [...] as the driving force behind the action of the whole poem". For two more and more recent, i.e. posterior to Battezzato, examples see Horn 2020: 18 & 20: "the narrative required Hector to perform the final kill and despoil the body of Patroclus in order to invoke Achilles' anger against him personally and incite him to return to the battlefield [...] Achilles is unstoppable in his rage and desire to avenge the companion in the *Iliad* who took his place in battle and in dying" and Lambrou (2020) as soon as in the Abstract: "Homer's portrayal of an Achilles whose choices are fundamentally motivated by his quest for personal honour", and then "Achilles, blind as he is with rage, completely disregards the fact that Agamemnon offers Briseis back" (720, n. 52) and finally: "Achilles sees Patroclus' impersonation of him not just as a means to win great honour and glory but also as an opportunity to take back Briseis and other splendid gifts which the Greeks would offer to "him" in recompense for a successful repulsion of the Trojans" (723).

[5] Grimal (1951: 8) mentions Stoics as principal proponents of this picture. For more see e.g. Graver 2007: 61: "Chrysippus [...] mentions [...] how Achilles was 'conquered' by his anger at Troy"; 134: "As long as Achilles is not the Stoic sage, he is, technically, a coward".

[6] See Krokiewicz (1959), esp. for what he called "the law of the contrite heart", and Zanker (1994).

in Achilles as the man of friendship. This is how he is regarded by Plato in the *Apology* (28 C–D) and in the *Symposium* in a praise given by Phaedrus (179 E–180 A)[7]. As for Aristotle, whose approach to affectivity centred not on *apatheia* but on *metriopatheia*, I shall touch upon his perspective in due course (section 5)[8].

I suspect that presenting Achilles as summarised by Grimal stems from partial or prejudiced reading of the poem[9]. Since in what follows I am going to focus on the text of the *Iliad* rather than on falsifying claims I do not agree with, the paper is to be read as Achilles' eulogy rather than his apology[10]. As far as my eulogy is inevitably *an* interpretation it is better, I think, to present first the chain of all important events on which it will hinge. By *the chain of all important events* I understand nothing essential being omitted nor anything superficial being added in my reconstruction of Achilles' story as presented in the *Iliad*. It will then be clear what is *the basis* for my interpretation.

Before I start, I believe an important proviso is in order. Insofar as my intention is to focus on the psychological or anthropological analysis – and such approach ineluctably involves a contemporisation of the material – I will ignore those aspects which result from divine intervention[11]. Certainly, there is a way in which gods in the *Iliad* or elsewhere play a role in psychology but I would not like to go into, say, the archetype method which would probably exploit the religious instead of the anthropological. Doing so, I hope, does not distort the character of Achilles nor devoid it of meaning for us today[12].

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[7] A similar idea is reiterated by Diotima (*Symp.* 208 D–E), i.e. independently of Phaedrus' speech which she could not have known, although her focus is on friendship less than on immortality. It is not sure if Plato has the *Iliad* in mind, although it cannot be ruled out, since in *Symp.* (180 A) Homer is quoted to the effect that Achilles was younger than Patroclus (ὥς φησιν Ὅμηρος). In the *Republic* Plato refers to Homer's Achilles in Book III (386 C–91 C), but more than once he takes some liberties with the narrative of the *Iliad*.

[8] In *Rhet.* 1359a, 3–5 Aristotle says: "Achilles [...] went to the aid of his comrade [ἑταίρῳ] Patroclus, knowing that he was fated to die, although he might have lived. To him such a death was more honourable, although life was more expedient" (transl. by J.H. Freese). However, strangely, Aristotle mentions Achilles in neither of his chapters on friendship, although he may have Achilles in mind when he speaks of the friendship of two (*EN* 1171a, 15: αἱ δ' ὑμνούμεναι ἐν δυσὶ λέγονται).

[9] For a different route to rectify Achilles' picture see Battezzato (2019: 123–149).

[10] It may – but does not have to – be read as a sequel to Zaborowski (2006).

[11] For a similar approach see Janko 1994: 4: "It is a remarkable paradox that nearly every important event in the *Iliad* is the doing of a god, and that one can give a clear account of the poem's entire action with no reference to the gods at all". See also Schein (2022: 22). Halleran (2023) disagrees, yet his counterexamples are Paris' disappearance from the battlefield (*Il.* III) and Athena's return of Achilles 'spear (*Il.* XXII), the passages which does not affect my argument. If, however, gods are to be taken as an expression of determinism, then Achilles – as much as anyone else – cannot be hold responsible for anything at all. See Strawson (1994).

[12] See also n. 45 below.

2. RECONSTRUCTING ACHILLES' STORY IN THE *ILIAD*

I think that reconstructing the order of events is all the more important insofar as the chronology of the *Iliad*, at least in what concerns the events under consideration, is not linear and, consequently, not that transparent. If the sequence of events related to Achilles be reconstructed, it could be best presented, I think, in view of five stages divided in ten episodes[13]. Five stages of the story are contained in books I, IX, XVI, XVIII–XIX and XXII & XXIV of the *Iliad*, which means that only the account of the last, the fifth, is interrupted.

Stage One [= *Iliad* I]

Episode One: A prince[14], an ally of the king of another state, during the expedition to recuperate the king's wife, opposes the king's brother, equally a king and a commander-in-chief, when the latter refuses to give up a part of his war prize, thereby putting the whole expedition at risk[15].

Episode Two: By his very opposition the prince draws on himself the commander-in-chief's anger and, in consequence, is forced by him to give up his own war prize and yield it to him[16].

Episode Three: As a result, the prince is becoming angry[17] and removes himself from the battle. From the bottom of his heart he wishes his allies to fail. He even enlists the gods' support to repulse the allies' army.

Stage Two [= *Iliad* IX]

Episode Four: Since the withdrawal of the prince causes increasing losses to his allies, the commander-in-chief sends an embassy to the prince in order to convince him to come back to the battlefield. Three delegates offer him multiple

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[13] By *stages* and *episodes* I understand elements of which a play could be composed if one would like to set Achilles' story as a drama with, respectively, acts (my stages) and scenes (my episodes).

[14] Achilles calls himself *king*. More precisely he says to Phoenix to be *king equal to him* (IX 616). But either this is not exact given that his father, the king of Phthia, is still alive or he intends the word to mean *chief*.

[15] For an analysis of the plot in terms of relationships within the army see Shay (1995).

[16] The more complex sequence goes as follows: The commander-in-chief's refusal puts the well-being of the whole expedition at risk. This is discovered because of the prince's following action: the prince, preoccupied with the plague afflicting the army, calls the assembly; then he has an idea to consult a seer. Since the seer asks him for a protection, he protects the seer who fears the commander-in-chief because what the seer reveals infuriates the commander-in-chief. When the commander-in-chief agrees under pressure to yield his prize but threatens to confiscate a prize of one of the other of commanders, the prince is the only one who opposes him. Moreover, he announces his retreat from the battlefield. It is at this point that the commander-in-chief points at him and decides to confiscate the prize of his. See the prince's report given to his mother in I 365–392.

[17] It is characteristic that despite his anger against the commander-in-chief, Achilles complies with his decision and without much further ado delivers the prize to his heralds.

gifts as well as the war prize which he was stripped of. They obtain nothing. Instead the prince declares that he will not return to the battlefield until the enemy reaches his camp.

Stage Three [= *Iliad* XVI]

Episode Five: When the enemy gets close to the allies' camp, the prince's *therapōn*[18] asks him for permission to intervene. The prince agrees, lends him his armour and his soldiers but forbids him to drive too far into the enemy lines. The prince's *therapōn* does not follow the order and is killed.

Stage Four [= *Iliad* XVIII–XIX]

Episode Six: The prince learns of his *therapōn*'s death and breaks down in despair.

Episode Seven: He is becoming angry (for the second time): he decides to take revenge on the killer of his *therapōn* and kill him.

[At this juncture there is a technical problem: the prince is without his armour and needs to wait before entering the battle.]

Episode Eight: He is now reconciled with the commander-in-chief and accepts his excuses.

[*Iliad* XX: Intervention of the gods, the combat of the prince and a rival prince, feats of the prince.]

[*Iliad* XXI: In fury, the prince slaughters many enemy soldiers.]

Stage Five [= *Iliad* XXII & XXIV]

Episode Nine: The prince kills the killer of his *therapōn* and maltreats his corpse.

[Intermezzo = *Iliad* XXIII: The prince's dream and the funeral games in honour of his *therapōn*.]

Episode Ten: Begged by the father of the killer of his *therapōn* the prince agrees to return him the corpse of his son.

If the reader accepts the above account, he may all the more confidently follow my interpretation to which I pass on now.

3. MAKING SENSE OF ACHILLES' KEY RESPONSES

The five stages and ten episodes may be arranged, structurally speaking, in two series of Achilles' experiences. One may like to remark that while they are

[18] At this point I use this Homeric word. For the sake of the present reconstruction it is not necessary to open a discussion about whether Patroclus was a companion, a friend, or else, of Achilles. Note that at this point I have, similarly, identified Briseis as a war prize rather than as Achilles', say, beloved woman or lover.

almost parallel in content, i.e. analogous, they are not so in time, i.e. they are not synchronous, since the second series occurs after the first. Most notably, Achilles' second anger explodes 17–19 days after the first one starts and one–two days before the first ends and it ends 14 days after the first anger stops[19]. This is to say that two distinct experiences of anger overlapped for one–two days which means that during one–two days Achilles underwent two distinct experiences of anger.

First series

(1*) Achilles' opposition – as it happens – to Agamemnon.

(2*) double privation: Achilles is deprived of a woman he loves and is dishonoured in the presence of the army.

(3*) outburst of anger and retaliation.

(4*) persistence in anger (simultaneous to (1**) of the second series).

(5*) reconciliation.

Second series

(1**) Achilles opposes his persistence in anger (i.e. he opposes (4*)).

(2**) as in first series, privation is double: first, of the dearest of all his companions (see XVIII 81, also XVII 411) and, then, since he calls him "equal to his own head" (XVIII 82: ἶσον ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ), which may be a metaphor for life or self[20], thereby, of himself as well.

(3**) outburst of anger and retaliation.

(4**) persistence in anger.

(5**) reconciliation.

Provided that this scheme is correct, two further observations should be made:

(i) The two series are similar by their constituents and by the order in which they occur.

(ii) They slightly differ by their dynamics, i.e. the way these elements may by grouped in view of the narrative and the composition of the poem. This is because whereas the first series is formed of three groups:

1*–2*–3*, then 4*, and finally 5*,

the second is formed of four following groups:

1** (simultaneous to 4* of the 1st series), then 2**–3**, next 4**, and finally 5**.

Any further interpretation depends, it seems to me, on what one privileges as crucial to either series. In order to do so, I think, it is pertinent to set two perspectives. The external perspective is determined by results of his doings and for this

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[19] These figures are valid if *twelve* in I 493 is to be taken literally but it was observed by Gainsford (2012: 14) that some numbers "carry a value that is largely, if not entirely, poetic".

[20] See Edwards (1991: 155). See also Coray (2018: 48).

reason may be called, to some degree, consequentialist. Another is the internal one. It is no less, if not more, important than the external one, for reconstructing "the inner biography" of Achilles, as Tadeusz Zieliński puts it[21]. Therefore, insofar as it discloses his psychology it is critical for Achilles' eulogy. If, however, one remains unconvinced that my reading is accurate and the rival one is wrong, one will still need to take it into account in order to get a fuller picture of Achilles and avoid the one-sidedness of the traditional reading.

4. INTERPRETING ACHILLES' ESSENTIAL RESPONSES IN VIEW OF HIS INTERNAL BIOGRAPHY

By Achilles' essential responses I understand those which modify his attitude. They are either mainly affective or affectivity-related[22] and work similarly in the two series which can be identified as follows:

(i) (≈ 1* & 1**) Achilles' oppositions, the first, to the king, and the second, to himself, more particularly to his persisting anger which resulted in his withdrawal, are both motivated by seeing the misfortune of his allies: first, because of plague that hit the army, then because of the enemy's advance on the Achaean camp. If Achilles cares about the others, it demonstrates in both cases his prosocial attitude[23]. Certainly, it may be argued that in the first case Achilles had no idea of what the result of his intervention will be. His action was only about taking interest in others' situation[24]. In the second case, however, because of experiencing his anger, his change of mind resulting in letting Patroclus join the battlefield not only is prompted by his interest in the others but also means opposing his own anger. Therefore, his response testifies to his distancing from himself. Now, the more one suggests that Achilles is obstinate in his anger, the more one needs to recognise his relinquishment of anger and the more evident and vital this relinquishment must appear. One might notice no deep deliberation on the part of Achilles in dissociating himself from his anger. As we know, his anger has not ended completely at this stage which is why the situation is even more complex than if he had already wiped his anger out. Characteristically, while still in anger, Achilles is aware and prudent enough to put Patroclus on notice and to give him directions how far to go. Again, the more one wants Achilles' anger to be inexorable, the more one should recognise his taking distance from his anger.

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[21] See Srebrny (1960: 26).

[22] See Zanker (1994) who regards Achilles in terms of "conduct that is more spontaneously generous" (1), "affective" and "emotional component" (7 & 16), and "the affective element [which] becomes overwhelming" (15).

[23] I wonder what Irwin (1992: 58) made of it, when he spoke of "Achilles [...] comparatively indifferent to the interests of other members of his community".

[24] A point neglected e.g. by Murnaghan 2020: 161: "Achilles [...] has long been chafing at Agamemnon's superior authority. Achilles' dissatisfaction with Agamemnon flares up into active rage".

(ii) (≈ 2* & 2**) Both Achilles' privations are in fact double privations. The first concerns his affectivity as well as his social status. Achilles is deprived of the woman he loves and, as put by Shay[25], of the honour due to a high-ranking officer. To know what matters more is insubstantial because the two privations are interrelated and occur simultaneously. The second privation is about Achilles' friend, or for that matter a person dear to him, and, thereby, of himself[26]. It is notable that Achilles names them, respectively, the woman he loved (see IX 342–343) and the dearest of all his companions, equal to himself (see XVIII 81–82), only in retrospect, that is after either privation has occurred. This may be, however, a consequence of the narrative structure of the *Iliad*.

There is however the following difference between the two privations. The first is revocable, at least partly. As it happened, Agamemnon restored Briseis to Achilles, even if too late. Contrariwise, the course of events that followed, the second privation included, cannot be reversed. It is irrevocable because Patroclus is killed, cannot be resurrected and therefore Achilles is doomed. This is not only alluded to by his mother (see XVIII 95–96) and expressed by Achilles himself in his response to her (see XVIII 98), but also preconceived by Antilochus' fear of Achilles' suicide (see XVIII 34) and, finally, confirmed by the description of Achilles' subsequent conduct and words. This looks as self-denial and suicide looks as a symbolic one. But this is not all. We should also consider that Patroclus went to the battlefield disguised as Achilles. The decision was Achilles' as well as his were the armour and the soldiers. This indicates that Patroclus joined the battlefield as Achilles' proxy. When he first appears, the Trojans think he is Achilles (see XVI 281–282). Accordingly, the beginning of Achilles' self-privation starts here and will last, if we limit ourselves to the *Iliad*, through various stages till XXIV, 128–130. In fact, the second privation starts even earlier, i.e. when he has a presentiment concerning the death of Patroclus immediately before Antiochus informs him about it (in XVIII 4–11)[27]. Achilles is devastated totally. He makes up his mind about his future. He abandons all prospects apart from one: taking revenge on the killer of Patroclus. From this moment on there is no alternative for Achilles. He feels guilty (see XVIII 98–99) and since the

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[25] See Shay (1995), esp. ch. 1: "Betrayal of 'What's Right'".

[26] See Muellner 1996: 160–161: "Their friendship, the fusion of their identities, is an absolute. When Achilles hears of Patroklos's death, he responds literally and by allusion as though he himself had died. [...] Achilles is only the literally surviving half of a symbolic whole". This is neither ancient nor literary way of capturing a relationship. See e.g.: "We loved each other so much it was as if we were one. [...] In many ways I died as well we were inseparable" (*Husband's heartbreaking tribute to wife killed by tree that fell in Highgate during Storm Eunice*, Evening Standard (online) Feb. 21, 2022, 5:43pm, https://uk.news.yahoo.com/husband-heartbreaking-tribute-wife-killed-153228072.html [retrieved on Feb. 22, 2022]).

[27] See Edwards 1991: 143: "Here it is a very human touch for Akhilleus to guess the bad news before it is announced".

fault is unrepairable, Achilles wants and is ready to die forthwith (explicitly in XVIII 98)[28].

(iii) (≈ 3* & 3**) Two outbursts of anger and two series of retaliations are directed at, respectively, Agamemnon and Hector. Their impact goes as far as to spread over, respectively, the whole army and the corpse of Hector once dead. Of the two series of outburst of anger-cum-retaliation the first relates to aggression against his ally – the commander-in-chief, indeed – and, by extension[29], his other allies and the second is about aggression against his enemy.

But not only. An even more important difference is between their forms. Although in both occurrences Achilles' feelings of love were harmed, the two responses differed in their phenomenologies and yet were symmetrical to some extent. While his first anger consists in a retreat and abstaining from doing anything, the second, in opposition, involves fury, paroxysm and violent deeds as when he kills young Trojans and maltreats the corpse of Hector. To use von Monakow's terms, the first anger is expressed *ekklitically*, that is by avoidance and repulsion, while the second *klitically*, that is by pursuit and attraction[30]. Accordingly, whereas the first is a separative form of retaliation, the second is an aggressive one.

(iv) (≈ 4* & 4**) In what regards two series of persistence in anger they are instantiated, respectively, by Achilles' refusal to come back to the battlefield and by his frenetic mistreating of Hector's corpse. First, his refusal.

Agamemnon wants – or rather needs – to make peace with Achilles. However, since Agamemnon neither explicitly nor directly asks Achilles for it, it may be suggested that his démarche is purely instrumental. This is Nestor who, when the situation becomes critical and Agamemnon as commander-in-chief gets in trouble, has an idea of approaching Achilles so that he return to the battlefield. Agamemnon recognises his error and offers gifts to appease Achilles. But he does not apologise. Moreover, he stays at his camp and sends a mission. Consequently, it is not surprising that the mission is not successful. Achilles may have rejected the offer of Agamemnon for the following reasons:

(a) Achilles is not solicited by the offender personally, yet he was offended by him personally[31].

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[28] For a similar response in modern times see Shay (1995: 49–55).

[29] When Achilles receives the embassy sent by Agamemnon he is clear that, notwithstanding his anger against Agamemnon, he considers Odysseus and Ajax as his closest friends (IX 198: φίλτατοί ἐστον). Odysseus wants to play on it (see IX 300).

[30] See von Monakow, Mourgue (1928). See also Zaborowski (2002: 384–386). A like expression of anger is Ajax' (see *Od.* XI 543–565). On Ajax' anger see Zaborowski (2005b: 11–14).

[31] Compare Chryses who begs Agamemnon to return him his daughter and is sent away violently by him in I 11–12 & 25–32 on the one hand and Priam received by Achilles in the *Iliad* XXIV on the other (see below).

(b) Even through his envoys, Agamemnon does not send an apology to Achilles[32] – only gifts, or rather a promise of gifts. Is it any surprise then that Achilles takes Agamemnon's offer as inadequate? More particularly, he is explicit about Agamemnon's failing to properly apologise for having offended him (in IX 386–387[33], confirmed by Achilles' own words later on, see XVI 72–73)[34]. One may object that Agamemnon does not feel guilty because he has no reason to feel guilty. He maintains that he was deluded by the gods (see XIX 86–87)[35]. But this is not accurate. Firstly, his misguiding dream takes place only after the quarrel with Achilles (see II 23–34). Secondly, in his answer to Nestor – who tells him that they (i.e. Nestor and other Achaeans) were against depriving Achilles of his prize and tried to dissuade him from dishonouring (ἠτίμησας) the man honoured (ἔτισαν) by the gods (see IX 108–111) – Agamemnon himself recognises his error (in IX 115–119). Hence, it looks like a reversal of the actual state of affairs on Agamemnon's part: Achilles is not responsible for the conflict and yet he – perhaps conciliatorily – blames himself, as may be inferred from his discourse (in XIX 56–62[36]), while Agamemnon, who is responsible for it, clears himself of any responsibility[37].

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[32] See Kalimtzis 2012: 21 & 128: "Achilles does not deny the wisdom of granting forgiveness when an apology is rendered. His point, however, is that no apology has been made by Agamemnon [...] Achilles' wrath, on the other hand, though unrestrained in intensity, is limited to a specific insult suffered. Achilles' withdrawal will cause great harm to the army, but he is always open to returning to the company of his warrior friends if and when his honour is restored".

[33] See Hainsworth 1993: 113: "The epic [...] has language for expressing regret at a wrongful act [...]. Agamemnon had not said this".

[34] What Achilles asks for is a kind treatment. Given the optative (εἰδείη), it is clear that Agamemnon *is not* kind to him. Compare Leaf 1892: 272: "'If Agamemnon had been but kindly to me' is not an impossible translation; but the natural meaning of the words certainly is 'If Agamemnon were but kindly to me,' implying a state of things which still exists [...] The fact is that on any supposition the words show *an evident readiness for reconciliation*" against Leaf 1902: 161: "72–73. This couplet contains a more apparent than real contradiction with I. *Of course Agamemnon has done all in his power* to shew friendliness to Achilles in the Embassy, which therefore appears to be ignored; but it is no doubt true that ἤπια εἰδείη refers to the whole course of Agamemnon's action. Achilles means 'if Agamemnon "were of gentle mind" to him, i.e. behaved as a good friend generally, such mischief would not arise' (Monro). None the less unitarians have almost without exception thought it necessary to expunge the lines, always on the weakest ground". See also Janko 1994: 325: "72–3 '...if Agamemnon had kindly feelings towards me'. Akhilleus refers to his misconduct in book I and general attitude [...]; the rights and wrongs of his own refusal of the Embassy are irrelevant. But kindness is *the last quality to be expected* of Agamemnon [...] Akhilleus is hoping for another, humbler approach, and *seeks to buy time for it* [...]. He is prepared to shift his ground but loth to say so [...]. His frustration, and awareness of what he could achieve were he reconciled, flashes out again" (all emphases are mine).

[35] A similar kind of excuse in a similar sort of situation is given by Odysseus in *Od.* XI 558–560.

[36] E.g. Edwards (1991: 241) for a similar assumption.

[37] See Bezantakos 1980: 161: "While Agamemnon's responsibility is obvious, the situation is not so clear for Achilles. Nobody accuses him of his dispute with Agamemnon and only after the throwing down of the Presbeia, according to the opinion of the most scholars, does a responsibility

(c) Agamemnon's message sent to Achilles via his emissaries sounds more like a deal than an apology. He agrees to offer him gifts *only if* Achilles desists from his anger (see IX 157 & 299). Agamemnon's offer is conditional which means that he is not genuinely repenting of his offence to Achilles and tries to trade. Rather, Agamemnon is interested in Achilles' change of mind only insofar as he will benefit from Achilles' presence on the battlefield in order to continue his – obviously not Achilles' – war. But there is more. As remarked by Battezzato, Agamemnon's offer is unrealistic[38]. This provides Achilles with yet another reason not to believe in the frankness of Agamemnon's act[39]. This is perhaps why Achilles says famously that he hates him who says one thing while thinking another (see IX 312–313)[40].

Moreover, (a)–(c) could have, after all, been taken by Achilles as an additional offence committed by Agamemnon.

Now, Achilles' frenetic mistreatment of Hector's corpse. While the end of Achilles' first anger takes place after a series of modifications, that of the second is abrupt, although it is hard to determine when it ended precisely (when Achilles obeyed his mother or when he saw Priam arriving to his camp, or when he returned him the corpse of his son). One could argue that since there is a *deus ex machina* intervention of his mother, without it Achilles would not agree to return the corpse of Hector to Priam. However, it should be remembered that Achilles gets convinced easily and quickly by his mother to return the corpse of Hector to whoever shows up with ransom. He is clearly convinced by his mother much quicker than by Agamemnon. Furthermore, in a different and, in fact, contrasting way Priam, unlike Agamemnon:

(a) solicits Achilles personally,

(b) gives him gifts – with no conditions,

(c) is sincere and authentic in his attempt[41].

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begin to exist. In any case, we have seen that Achilles did not reject the Presbeia entirely but he gave in partially by changing his initial opinion".

[38] See Battezzato 2019: 131: "le promesse di Agamennone, anche quelle di tipo semplicemente economico, sono completamente vuote [...] Agamennone continua a fare quello che ha sempre fatto; continua a promettere consapevolmente ciò che non può essere mantenuto, e ciò che egli non intende mantenere". This is why, Battezzato concludes, "[i]l rifiuto di Achille è pertanto perfettamente sensato, se crediamo alle sue parole" (132). Moreover, he shows (125) convincingly and brilliantly, how rather than betraying his country, as was suggested by Leaf (1892: 23), "Achille, nel libro 9, sembra però un personaggio che non riesce a farsi capire dai suoi interlocutori" and that Achilles' speech "[i]n realtà è estremamente chiaro e organizzato in maniera coerente" (127).

[39] That Achilles is sensing correctly Agamemnon's genuine feelings for him is clear from XIX 76–84, as is argued by Edwards (1991: 244).

[40] The couplet is discussed by Plato, *Hip. Min.* 365 A–C.

[41] Zanker (1994), esp. ch. 4, reaches a similar conclusion.

One may want to object that (a)–(c) has nothing to do with how the visit goes because they happen only after Achilles has already agreed to obey his mother (see XXIV 139). Consequently, in these circumstances Priam's visit to Achilles can go but smoothly, if the word is appropriate, because it has been preconditioned to go so. I think that two elements at least show that even if we take such a preconditioning into account, things could have gone badly if Priam had behaved inappropriately, say in Agamemnon-like fashion. This difference between Achilles' two responses testifies to essential – not accidental – trait of Achilles' behaviour. First, in XXIV 559–560, Achilles asks Priam not to irritate him when Priam does not want to follow Achilles' offer of sitting. Next, Achilles is aware that if Priam sees the massacred body of his son, he will get angry which, in turn, will provoke Achilles in such a way that he kill Priam. To avoid this happening, Achilles asks his maids to take care of Hector's corpse (see XXIV 582–590)[42]. This is an obvious proof of Achilles' prudence. Also, I think, the fact that Achilles himself lifted the corpse and set it upon a bier attests to his sensibility insofar as by doing so Achilles answers Priam's authentic approach or, at the least, respects his feelings more than he was expected to do.

(v) (≈ 5* & 5**) The two reconciliations are as different from one another as are the two series of events ((i)–(iv)) preceding them. The act of reconciliation with Agamemnon is quick and pretty formal. In point of fact Achilles says simply that he puts an end to his anger[43]. His official statement occupies no more than one verse and a half – that is all (XIX 67–68: νῦν δ' ἤτοι μὲν ἐγὼ παύω χόλον, οὐδέ τί με χρὴ / ἀσκελέως αἰεὶ μενεαινέμεν...).

Regarding the second reconciliation it may be added – to what I have just said above (see (iv)) – that Achilles' reconciliation with Priam, that is with the father of his friend's killer, is, unlike his reconciliation with Agamemnon, private

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[42] I find the comment *ad. loc.* of Hainsworth (1993: 295) – "For Akhilleus' ungovernable temper see 24.582–6 (where he reflects that he might be unable to restrain himself should Priam make a false move)" – incomprehensible. Had it been ungovernable Achilles could not have governed it, no matter how much he would have reflected on it. See Brügger (2017: 217) on "the worst possible consequence [...] which Achilles wants to avoid by all means".

[43] At this point, while already reconciled, Agamemnon taunts Achilles again, "the man he hates", Edwards (1991: 244) claims. The fact is that Achilles addresses Agamemnon directly (in XIX 56: Ἀτρεΐδη) and Agamemnon in his answer does not address Achilles but the Danaäns/Argives. He refers to Achilles in the third person as "he who is standing up" and as "the son of Peleus" (in XIX 79: ἑσταότος, 83: Πηλεΐδῃ). This does not seem to be a mark of respect. For Edwards (1991: 244) this is an "obvious awkwardness". Moreover, Achilles not only addresses Agamemnon directly by his patronymic, but then he mentions him and himself in dual (XIX 56: ἀμφοτέροισιν), next himself as *me* and Agamemnon as *you* to pass to them again first in dual and next in plural as sharing grief and anger in XIX 57–58 (ἔπλετο σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, ὅ τε νῶϊ περ ἀχνυμένω κῆρ / θυμοβόρῳ ἔριδι μενεήναμεν). He could have not been more conciliatory than by alluding to the involvement of them both in the quarrel. Doing so is obviously an act of reaching out to Agamemnon insofar as the quarrel was initiated and boosted, at least at the beginning, by Agamemnon.

or even intimate. Although it could be objected that it is odd to speak about reconciliation between Achilles and Priam since they have not been in quarrel – as Achilles and Agamemnon were – there is one sense in which it may be said so. I would suggest that as Patroclus was a proxy of Achilles so now Priam is a proxy of Hector. Particularly revealing in this respect are Achilles' words of excuse he addresses to Patroclus (in XXIV 592–595), immediately after he set up the restoration of Hector's corpse. They make the idea of making peace between Achilles *on behalf of* Patroclus and Priam *on behalf of* his son plausible. Interestingly, Achilles not only returns Hector's corpse to his father but he also enters in an affective affinity with him as it may be inferred from the fact that, remarkably, they weep together (in XXIV 509–512). Even more unexpected is what follows. Achilles offers Priam a meal during which they regard each other with wonder (in XXIV 629 & 631). This is certainly much more than what happened after the act of reconciliation with Agamemnon. For this reason the reconciliation between Achilles and Priam could be interpreted as more profound than the one between Achilles and Agamemnon.

Whatever the explanation, it may seem paradoxical that with a stranger and an enemy and in a situation in which he lost his friend forever, i.e. in which the loss is irremediable, Achilles went in act and affect further than with an ally who deprived him – but only temporarily – of his beloved woman and of honour. One may answer this by arguing that perhaps Achilles learnt enough about devastating effects of anger and this lesson resulted in his more humane attitude. But could the lesson really work in the case of an extreme despair? Whereas the first reconciliation was conditioned by the second privation, the second reconciliation could have not been determined by any subsequent privation, or anything else, because for Achilles all was already lost – himself included. If, therefore, Achilles does not forget the moral of his last experience despite the fact that after the death of Patroclus he has nothing more to lose, we get an evidence of Achilles' mental progress.

5. LOOKING FOR A BETTER CHARACTER

Now I want to consider the figure of Achilles from a counterfactual perspective. To see if Achilles had any better alternative may help in disclosing his actual personality. If he did not, then the way he acted was the best he could. The answer certainly depends on the meaning of *better*. If, for instance, one understands it according to the Stoic standard the answer seems in the affirmative. But it is hard to imagine Achilles as a candidate for a Stoic philosopher, for a Stoic Achilles would have never participated in the expedition in the first place, since the reasons of his taking part in it, as explained by him (see I 152–160 & IX 337–339) were about winning honour for Agamemnon and Menelaus and because of Helen, all of which a Stoic would have despised. But what about a Stoic

who is offended, attacked for no reason by a neighbour, and when a person dear to him would be taken away from him or killed?

It is easier and more fruitful, I believe, to consider Achilles from the Aristotelian point of view[44]. According to Aristotle to respond with no anger or an anger not strong enough is as inappropriate[45] as to respond with too strong an anger:

> If, for example, in relation to anger, we feel it too much or too little [σφοδρῶς ἢ ἀνειμένως], we are badly disposed; but if we are between the two [μέσως], then well disposed.
>
> (*EN* 1105b, 25–28, transl. by R. Crisp)

But not only. A few passages later Aristotle is more specific about the criteria of correctness:

> ...anger [...] can be experienced too much or too little [μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον], and in both ways not well. But to have [it] at the right time [τὸ δ' ὅτε δεῖ], about the right things [ἐφ' οἷς], towards the right people [πρὸς οὕς], for the right end [οὗ ἕνεκα], and in the right way [ὡς δεῖ], is the mean and best; and this is the business of virtue.
>
> (*EN* 1106b, 19–22, transl. by R. Crisp)

And also:

> So too anyone can get angry [...] these are easy; but doing them in relation to the right person [τὸ δ' ᾧ], in the right amount [ὅσον], at the right time [ὅτε], with the right aim in view [οὗ ἕνεκα], and in the right way [ὡς] – that is not something anyone can do, nor is it easy.
>
> (*EN* 1109a, 26–29, transl. by R. Crisp)[46]

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[44] Alas for me Aristotle does not mention Achilles when discussing the right and wrong degree of anger. In *Rhet.* 1378b, 29–34 he calls upon Achilles to exemplify his point that dishonour is a kind of insolence and that he who dishonours makes an affront (ὕβρεως δὲ ἀτιμία, ὁ δ'ἀτιμάζων ὀλιγωρεῖ·) and earlier, in 1378b, 6–7, he quotes Achilles' words from XVIII 109–110 approvingly.

[45] One referee remarked that "adducing later notions of appropriateness (modern as well as those derived from Aristotle) to the interpretation of the *Iliad* is certainly anachronistic, and Achilles is, after all, a literary character and not a real person with regards to his psychology" and then asked: "how can reading the *Iliad* along those lines still improve our understanding of the poem?" I want to be clear that, as already put above, my interest is psychological or anthropological rather than literary or historical and as such it can involve a contemporisation of the material, or, to use the referee's term, anachronism. In this I want and hope to be closer to Nietzsche – Rohde – Zieliński's approach rather than to Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's. According to Zieliński (after Srebrny 1947: 61–62), the latter, as of early 20th c., did prevail and this fact turned out to be fatal to classical philology. That "Aristotle's discussion is in fact illuminating for the interpretation of the *Iliad*" was observed by Konstan (2006: 50, see also 53–55). I thank the other referee for remembering me about it.

[46] See also *EN* 1125b: "anger, though the things that produce it are many and various. There is praise for someone who gets angry at the right things [ἐφ' οἷς] and with the right people [οἷς],

The point is then to get angry correctly and the correctness is determined by six criteria: time (ὅτε), things (ἐφ' οἷς), persons (πρὸς οὕς), reason (οὗ ἕνεκα), way (ὡς), and degree (ὅσον)[47]. What about Achilles' anger against Agamemnon and Hector respectively?

I first consider his, much more discussed, anger against Agamemnon.

(o) Achilles gets angry at Agamemnon because he was offended by him. What Agamemnon did appeared to Achilles as an affront he did not deserve (see *Rhet.* 1378a, 31–33: ...διὰ φαινομένην ὀλιγωρίαν εἰς αὐτόν [...] τοῦ ὀλιγωρεῖν μὴ προσήκοντος), to wit, an injustice (see *EN* 1135b, 28–29: ἐπὶ φαινομένῃ γὰρ ἀδικίᾳ ἡ ὀργή ἐστιν). If it seemed so to him, not getting angry would be inappropriate in the face of an offence and, if so, getting angry was better. Now in order to know whether his response was correct not only as *type* of response but also *individually*, that is as a particular one, it is necessary to examine the Aristotelian criteria one by one.

(i) time (ὅτε). Achilles got angry as soon as he was offended by Agamemnon. It means he got angry neither too early nor too late. Accordingly, Achilles' anger occurred at the right time.

(ii) thing (ἐφ' οἷς). Being offended and deprived of the woman dear to him. Both things seemed to Achilles and certainly were unjust[48].

(iii) person (πρὸς οὕς). Here the answer is simple: Agamemnon was the right person to be angry at.

(iv) reason (οὗ ἕνεκα). The correctness of motive depends on the importance one attaches to personal relations, especially to relationships with one's dear ones. Certainly, they do not mean a lot in contemplative life. But what about two other models of life, i.e. active life and life of friendship?[49] There, they certainly do. In active or social life and in life of friendship failure to get angry at an offence and keeping calm instead would contradict a personal involvement and concern for – in Achilles' case – his own status and for the beloved woman. They would reveal his unfaithfulness to his own values if not their betrayal[50].

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as well as in the right way [ὡς], at the right time [ὅτε], and for the right length of time [ὅσον χρόνον]" (transl. by R. Crisp).

[47] I am not sure how to understand the second and the third criterion: as exclusive, both referring to the object anger is directed at (be it either a non-human-being, say an event, feature, etc., or a person), or as complementary, say a person and circumstances which provoked it.

[48] For Achilles' own words about how he felt see IX 647–648 (τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην ["a kind of despised wanderer"]).

[49] I follow here Tatarkiewicz (1931).

[50] I cannot pursue here a topic of Achilles' faithfulness, let alone the nature of Achilles–Patroclus relationship. Let me only say that Achilles' rejection of further life after Patroclus' death could be interpreted precisely in terms of faithfulness: since Achilles is unable to keep his promise of a common life with Patroclus any more, he will share with him his fate at Troy and will lay their bones in the same urn.

Bear in mind that Achilles is at Troy to assist Agamemnon who together with his brother makes war because his sister-in-law was abducted. When forced to return Chryseis – the fact for which Achilles is definitely not responsible – Agamemnon bullies Achilles to compensate him with his own prize. Achilles is not forgetful about the very reason of the expedition and rhetorically asks if only the sons of Atreus love their wives (in IX 340–341). Now he sees that he is not given the same personal rights. Achilles is implicated – once voluntarily and once involuntarily – in, respectively, Menelaus' and Agamemnon's issues with women. If there is a war therefore and then an outrage is committed to Achilles because of Menelaus' and Agamemnon's women, why is he to be blamed for his withdrawal or, to put it in another way, for inaction?[51]

Thus, he who condemns Achilles but not Agamemnon (and Menelaus) or condemns Achilles more than Agamemnon (and Menelaus) seems to apply a double standard. Otherwise, if one says that Achilles' temporary withdrawal from fighting is disproportionate, then one should also say that Menelaus and Agamemnon's going to war is even more disproportionate.

To conclude. In the light of Aristotelian standards and/or in the context of the events as they are related in the *Iliad*, Achilles' anger is either not blameable at all or blameable to a significantly lower extent than we are repeatedly told.

(v) way (ὡς). I think *the right way* concerns not only the anger and its phenomenology but also its consequences (you may be angry in one way or another, with one kind of consequences or another). As for the first, Achilles' anger was weaker than Agamemnon's because he did not reciprocate in a symmetrical way. After all, he respected the army hierarchy, did not declare war against Agamemnon, did not confiscate a woman of an inferior either and, finally, did peacefully deliver Briseis to Agamemnon, a thing he previously announced (in I 298–299)[52], even if it is true that at one moment he pondered whether to kill Agamemnon (in I 188–193), the idea he abandoned. If then Menelaus' and Agamemnon's reactions typify the then standards, it seems that Achilles' response was *too* weak.

Now, there is an issue of what his anger brought on in terms of consequences. What he is usually condemned for are the loss and suffering of his allies. It is true that Achilles' withdrawing caused casualties – note that Achilles in his second answer to Agamemnon says *only* that he will go home (in I 169–170) but in his third answer he expresses the idea that one day all Achaeans will miss him

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[51] The parallel is even stronger: Menelaus was offended – as was Achilles – in a double way: Paris abducted his wife and violated the rules of hospitality.

[52] When the heralds of Agamemnon come to Achilles in order to take Briseis from him they were scared. Achilles showed empathy since not only did he not bully them more but instead assured them of his understanding. In I 335 he told them that they were not to be blamed for their mission.

and Agamemnon will not be able to ward them off when many will be killed by Hector (in I 240–242). He is aware that his retreat may cause harm not only to Agamemnon but also to the Achaean soldiers which, otherwise, could have been avoided. Although it is true that Achilles' anger affects the whole army, even if his anger's object is Agamemnon, one should not forget Achilles' subsequent, almost immediate, changes of mind as well as his sensitivity to the army's fate. This is why he accepts Patroclus' request and – as in Priam's case – makes more than Patroclus expected him to do.

There is also the issue of whether his withdrawal may be considered as neglect and if his neglect – if it is one – could be considered as desertion. I do not know what were the exact terms – if any[53] – of Achilles' participation in the expedition, for instance if he was allowed to abandon at any time or compelled to take part in it to the very end and, more particularly, whether it was stipulated what he could do in case of being offended by the commander-in-chief, and so forth. In any event, to admit that if he had not withdrew from the battle there would have been no victims at all is untenable. As is known, several soldiers were killed and wounded in the time preceding the events of the *Iliad* as well as after Achilles' return to the battlefield. If we keep this in mind, we are back to the above point again: these are all effects of the expedition to Troy – not to mention all side stories that come out of the Trojan War – and the responsibility is on those who started the war, i.e. Agamemnon's and Menelaus', or, alternatively, of Paris who provoked it. In no case it is Achilles'. Let us then conclude that it would be a mistake to make Achilles responsible of *every* Greek soldier killed after he withdrew even though most probably there could have been less or much less loss and suffering if he had not quitted[54]. But secondly – and most importantly – we should not hold Achilles responsible for what he did *not do* by not participating any longer in the battle in order to clear Agamemnon of responsibility for what he *did*, unless one opts for the consequentialist position[55]. But

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[53] For what may be learnt about them from the *Iliad* see I 152–160 (and also IX 337–339) where Achilles – hence the report may be partial – recounts the reason/s why he came to Troy.

[54] This is valid when we think about loss and suffering in the Achaean camp. But what about human loss and suffering in general? If the latter is taken into account, one may tend to answer that with Achilles' withdrawal they were more on the one side but less on the other, i.e. Trojan side. From the general perspective, the result may not have been that different.

[55] Compare Williams (1973: 99) against negative responsibility: "as we might first and very simply put it, that each of us is specially responsible for what he does, rather than for what other people do". See also Kamm (2007), on the difference between harming and not helping. Achilles seems to do worse if one considers his wish that his allies fail (in I 408–410) and a famous "we two alone" sentence (XVI 99–100: νῶϊν [...] οἷοι). But the former, although articulated in Stage One, Episode Three, is, in the first place, about aiming at what one allows not for its own sake but for the sake of obtaining something else (i.e. to make Agamemnon recognise his error and restore to Achilles his honour) – if one employs the distinction made by Foot (2002: 25); secondly, it is soon abandoned, since Achilles does not even make any preparations for departure. The latter, in

even then, again and again, we are back to the point in which we should consider Agamemnon's responsibility much greater and his action much less appropriate than Achilles'[56].

(vi) degree (ὅσον). Before answering the question if Achilles' anger against Agamemnon lasted for the right length of time, first we need to establish how long it did last. Without going into the convoluted issue of the *Iliad*'s timeline let us admit that it lasted 18–19 days[57]. It is true that it is hard to be categorical on whether anger lasting for two weeks and a half in the circumstances as described in the *Iliad* is too long or too short. But it is equally hard to consider it as a monolithic and immovable anger. Rather it was susceptible to continuous modifications which were symptomatic of a progressive attenuation.

Initially, after Nestor's speech, Achilles says that he will leave Troy for his home (in I 169–170). However, 12 days later he is still about to leave and no word of his preparations is uttered. When Agamemnon's envoys visit him he tells Odysseus in reply that the next day (in IX 357: αὔριον) he will make sacrifice and then (also the next day?) will depart. But then, after Phoenix' speech, i.e. no more than 450 lines later (which may amount to less than one hour), [1] he tells him that the next day (*sic*!) they will consider *whether* to depart or to stay (in IX 619). And in his next speech, when he answers Ajax with a message for Agamemnon, [2] Achilles says that he will not return to battle until the Trojans are close to his camp (in IX 651–652, also reiterated to Patroclus in past tense in XVI 61–63). This means that at the end of the meeting with Agamemnon's delegation the plan of going back home is simply abandoned by Achilles. However, the next day [3] he again modifies his decision: when implored by Patroclus to let him go to the battlefield, he speaks of the quarrel with Agamemnon as passé (in XVI 60) and agrees that Patroclus aid the Achaeans. Finally, after Patroclus' death [4] Achilles joins the battlefield with

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turn, occurs in Stage Three, Episode Five, viz. after he changed his mind for the third time. Accordingly, there is no more question of not helping the Achaeans since he has just agreed to allow Patroclus to do it. Also, these words of Achilles may be interpreted as expression of a transient fit, since he has just declared that the conflict with Agamemnon is already a thing of the past. Janko (1994: 328) explains them by the fact that Achilles is "[e]xasperated by all this folly and the absence from fighting it entails" and remarks that Achilles' wish is impossible and he knows well about it (for the evidence see XVII 404–407). Finally, it may be observed that, firstly, Achilles' wish is about both Trojans and Achaeans – not Achaeans alone – which means that it has nothing to do with his wish from *Iliad* I and, secondly, it is patently utopian, and therefore should not be taken as any more than a whim or perhaps as implying his exclusive and exceptional bond with Patroclus by referring to an imaginary world in which only they two exist.

[56] Not to mention all the harm caused by the ten-day-long plague provoked, even if indirectly, by Agamemnon. Note that he, unlike Achilles, did not refrain from acting but acted, hence his responsibility is not negative. And he stopped only when and because he was forced to do so.

[57] Only some pieces of this timeline are without equivocation. For instance, the peace with Agamemnon happens the day after the unsuccessful embassy (see XIX 141: χθιζός).

no regard for his earlier decisions[58]. All in all we have five decisions here – of which only the first remained firm but ineffective during 12 days for a total of 18/19 days[59] – and four changes of his mind about his participation in the war after the quarrel with Agamemnon in *Iliad* I. Accordingly, the first change of mind occurs after 12 days, during which Achilles did not fulfil – and one can ask why – his initial plan conceived at the moment when his anger sprung up. The second one took place several minutes later, the third the next day and the last the same day in the evening. Although the embassy sent to Achilles is unsuccessful it is not entirely without effect, for the first and the second modifications of Achilles' state of mind occur when he was receiving it.

The fourth and last modification is different to all previous ones insofar as the death of Patroclus not only is an external event, unplanned and unexpected, but it also changes completely Achilles' frame of mind as well as his earlier decisions. Yet one may still inquire about the reason of earlier modifications and especially of the third one[60]. Had his anger been invincible and blind, would he have let Patroclus take his armour and soldiers to fight against the Trojans? While the last modification may be expected insofar as the loss of Patroclus logically modifies Achilles' life and world, and as a result the conflict with Agamemnon is no longer in the centre of his attention, the previous modifications had no such external reason[61]. Consequently, it is more natural to accept that Achilles' anger instead of being adamant was intrinsically such as to evolve from its very start and diminish constantly. Who disagrees should answer why Achilles considers the conflict as a thing of the past and, even more surprisingly, acknowledges the impossibility of being angry ceaselessly (in XVI 60–61).

If the above is correct, to say that Achilles' anger was untamed, invincible or rigid is outright wrong. Although in the first instance Achilles said nothing about the duration of his anger, with the second modification he delimits his anger according to an external factor, that is a danger presented by the Trojans to *his* camp (and, in reality, it was again modified when they menaced *his allies*' camp)[62]. This means not only that the duration of Achilles' anger is not determined by the initial event (ἐφ' οἷς) alone, in this case by Agamemnon's offence,

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[58] This is so provided that the link between Achilles' anger on the one hand and Patroclus' request and his death on the other hand is correct. If not, what else could have put an end to his anger? Certainly, there could be such events, but the embassy sent by Agamemnon did not turn out to be one of them.

[59] See n. 19 above.

[60] On the complexity of Achilles' motives and their meaning for the whole epic in general and for Achilles, Patroclus and Hector in particular, see Most (2004: 67).

[61] Except for one thing: when Achilles agrees to let Patroclus go to the battlefield this may be partly influenced by his pity upon Patroclus whose tears mollifies him (in XVI 3–6).

[62] Given that Achilles determined his anger's duration it was not an exclusively spontaneous affair but rather somehow a spontaneous-cum-deliberated response to the offence.

but also that it is affected by what is about to go on and how. And the crucial thing here is that *what is about to go on and how* was unknown to him at the very moment of specifying the duration of his anger. If so, this means that his anger's duration from the very beginning was subject to change. If, however, it is objected that it was so only in relation to time – and not in relation to what Achilles determined as its end, i.e. danger presented by Trojans – then it must be remarked that here too there was a modification which resulted in shortening the duration of his anger. This shows that his anger was flexible in two respects: not only in relation to its end as determined by Achilles which was by itself unknown but also in relation to its real end which differed from what Achilles determined as his anger's end. If Achilles did not keep his word and his anger underwent modifications, it shows that Achilles' anger could equally have lasted longer or shorter, if only Patroclus had intervened and/or died later or sooner[63].

Now, I can move on to Achilles' anger against Hector. Keeping it firmly separate from the previous one is not a straightforward matter. In fact, it is hard to know how much the beginning of the second anger contributed to the extinction of the first. Various options are possible, e.g. the second contributed to quench and replace the first[64] or/and the first was, partly at least, transformed into the second, either synchronically or diachronically. Since, it seems to me, too little detail is given by Homer, an interpretation of the transition from the first anger to the second one may be easily too speculative or inaccurate. The matter is even more complicated by the fact that either of both angers can hardly be analysed in isolation from other emotions. This is because of the general feature of affectivity which is that particular emotions rarely come about in a pure form and naturally co-occur with various other emotions instead. Yet, I think, it is correct to say that Achilles' anger against Hector is a more complex case than his anger against Agamemnon since the former is mixed with despair. This is not to say that the latter occurred alone. It too was mixed with Achilles' other feelings, of which sorrow is most probably the most conspicuous. However, Achilles' despair is more complex than his sorrow and also while Achilles' sorrow occurred in the background of his first anger, his second anger occurred in the background of his despair. This is clear from the way Achilles' experiences are described to start with the order of how their components are presented. More specifically, in *Iliad* I Achilles' experience develops from anger (139: κεχολώσεται, 181: κοτέοντος, etc.) to sorrow (188: ἄχος, 330: οὐδ' ἄρα τώ γε ἰδὼν γήθησεν, and esp. 349: δακρύσας, 357: δάκρυ, 362: κλαίεις [...] πένθος, etc.), whereas in *Iliad* XVIII Achilles is first seized by despair (22: ἄχεος, 64: πένθος, 73

[63] By contrast, if Patroclus had not made a request to Achilles nor died, nor had any other significant event happened, would it have lasted longer? How much longer? Hard to answer.

[64] See for instance Proust 1999: 1250: "une nouvelle colère contre un second imbécile dissipait l'autre".

[= I, 362]: κλαίεις, etc.) and then by anger (322: χόλος, 337: χολωθείς, etc.). Accordingly, while the above analysis omits the less important component of the mixture insofar as the anger component is the predominant one, here instead, since anger comes after despair, it is hard to pass it over. However, as the whole experience affects Achilles more deeply – it concerns his very self if such a term may be used here – his anger is stronger as well. I want to stress that the distinction is not about intensity but about the depth of experience. For instance, however strongly the loss of social status may be felt it does not amount to the experience of losing one's entire being, at least for a person who does not affix her entire self to the social dimension exclusively – a thing we may reasonably rule out as regards Achilles in view of his attachment for Briseis and Patroclus. Hence instead of *stronger* I prefer to label them as *deeper*: the experience is deeper, the loss is deeper, the sorrow is deeper and the anger is deeper[65]. This is why, I believe, to keep the distinction visible it is more accurate to name the components of the first experience anger and sorrow and of the second – despair and rage, respectively.

(o) Achilles rages at Hector because his killing of Patroclus appeared to be an affront and the one which neither Patroclus nor he deserved as is stated in *Rhet.* 1378a, 31–33 (...διὰ φαινομένην ὀλιγωρίαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἢ <τι> τῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ὀλιγωρεῖν μὴ προσήκοντος). That seemed to him to be injustice as in *EN* 1135b, 28–29 (ἐπὶ φαινομένῃ γὰρ ἀδικίᾳ ἡ ὀργή ἐστιν). Naturally, one may object that since this was a war, a soldier's death is not an injustice to anyone. However, Aristotle's clause – φαινομένην[66] – precludes this objection since the point is not whether the misfortune was actually an affront but whether it was considered or sensed as such by Achilles.

(i) time (ὅτε). Rage against Hector was Achilles' second feeling. It came after despair which engulfed him on hearing about Patroclus' death.

(ii) thing (ἐφ' οἷς). The loss of his dearest that he must have considered – with time – as an affront. Otherwise he would not have added rage to his despair.

(iii) person (πρὸς οὕς). The answer is easy: Hector was the right person to be angry at[67]. I cannot go into question if, and if so to what degree, Achilles was angry at himself and/or transferred his rage to Hector in the psychoanalytic sense of transference. Some passages make both plausible[68].

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[65] The distinction between intensity vs level is explicitly drawn by Scheler (1973). For how it may be applied to Homer see Zaborowski (2005a).

[66] Rendered in several ways, e.g. "conspicuous" (W. Rhys Roberts), "real or apparent" (J.H. Freese). I opt for "which appears/seems to be".

[67] Unlike in case of accidents produced by a natural cause – provided that no human responsibility whatsoever is involved.

[68] The same is true in what regards his anger, which is equally self-aggressive, as may be inferred from the fact that very early he suffers from not participating in battle (see I 492). See Muellner (2020: 101) who remarks that "the first victim of his withdrawal is Achilles himself".

(iv) reason (οὗ ἕνεκα). It seems there are two options on the table. Either one says Achilles had no reason for getting angry since in a war death and privation happen, while he still had reason for suffering despair because of the loss. However, because loss, privation and suffering are expected to happen, it does not mean that the only reasonable course of action is to accept this fact and its consequences[69]. Alternatively, one may be sensitive to the nature of these facts and be deeply affected by them, especially if they concern one's dear ones. Because the person lost is a friend we should look at the rightness of this criterion in the light of what friendship is in Aristotelian philosophy, instead of considering it simply as a social and interpersonal relationship. Given Achilles' somatic symptoms and also his mental dynamics[70] – unless one takes them to be faked – I think we may aver that he experienced the death of Patroclus deeply. And if his body spoke so, it would be odd to see his mind stay calm.

(v) way (ὡς). Achilles' rage against Hector is all the opposite to his anger against Agamemnon. While the latter is *ekklitic* because is expressed by a refusal to act and withdrawal, the former is *klitic* because it consists in an aggressive and ravaging action. Certainly, it is far too violent since gods are scandalised by Achilles' behaviour. Now, it may be explained – not excused – by Achilles' extraordinarily desperate state which led to his frenzy of slaying twelve young Trojans and maltreating Hector's corpse[71]. It should be noted furthermore that we do not know what would have happened to Patroclus' corpse if it had not been rescued given Hector's intention to mutilate it (e.g. in XVII 126–127). Regarded from this angle Achilles' mutilation of Hector's corpse is not a novelty. Finally, unlike his anger against Agamemnon, Achilles' rage against Hector is catastrophic to his enemies and beneficial to his allies. Yet from the universal human perspective the sheer number of casualties may be very much similar.

(vi) degree (ὅσον). It should be noted first that for one or two days Achilles' rage against Hector overlapped with his anger against Agamemnon, which makes the matter even more difficult to treat. Next, although the experience and the sentiment of loss in *Iliad* XVIII is deeper than in *Iliad* I, Achilles' rage against Hector lasted shorter: as it seems some two weeks instead of three weeks. This seems a strange fact. However, it shows that it does not have to be the case that the deeper the experience of anger is, the longer it lasts. It may be so insofar as the degree is just one criterion of considering the anger to be right. This is why

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[69] Compare Anaxagoras' calm dictum about the death of his son. I suppose that staying calm would push some to question the authenticity of Achilles' relationship with Patroclus. And by the same token, possibly, some may question the very feelings of Anaxagoras for his son.

[70] I.e. his renouncing the world and the life.

[71] That it may be explained by his exceptional condition is corroborated, among others, by comparing the treatment of Eetion (see VI 417) and the first treatment of Lycaon (see XXI 40–48), both before Patroclus' death, with the second treatment of Lycaon (in XXI 34–138) which follows it and stands in striking contrast with the two previous cases.

Achilles' rage against Hector could have been shorter in duration and more violent in its expression than his anger against Agamemnon on the assumption that the expression of one's anger is a mark of its degree.

To recapitulate. Achilles is certainly *not* acting according to the Stoic philosophy and consequently it makes no sense to appraise him using the Stoic standard or if you do you must condemn him thoroughly. In order to appraise him it is more fruitful to apply Aristotle's approach even if we may arrive only at a cursory conclusion. This is because Aristotle not only did not give more clues in what concerns the rightness of anger in view of the six criteria but he also observed that "achieving it [viz. the golden mean] is difficult, especially in particular cases, since it is not easy to determine how one should be angry, with whom, for what reasons, and for how long" (*EN* 1109b, 14–16, transl. by R. Crisp, slightly modified). If this was difficult for Aristotle, this is even more so for us and in such a peculiar case as that of Achilles. But as it seems to me and as I have tried to demonstrate, Achilles does fit the Aristotelian standard generally: in neither case he was indifferent to the offence, the person and the thing of his anger were in both cases correct, the reason was right too, as were the time, way and degree.

6. CONCLUSION

In my paper I first reconstructed the main elements of the story of Achilles as it goes in the *Iliad*, then I distinguished two series of events important for Achilles' experiences and actions. Next, I interpreted them and, finally, in the last section I went into the counterfactual. Using Aristotle's correctness criteria for anger I tried to show that there was hardly a better option to Achilles if we consider the circumstances of his actions as they presented to him.

First thing to underline is that if the *Iliad* is a poem "which has as its main theme [...] the 'wrath of Achilles'" (Grimal 1990: 5), it is more accurate to speak about Achilles' two angers instead of one only, even though it can be reasonable to think that the first anger occasioned, in some way or another, the second. There is no need to argue that Achilles is a virtuous person. My aim was just to show that as a person he deserves more praise than is usually given to him and to restore him to the right position. His attitude, emotions and actions are all defensible. I do not think that the traditional reading is simply wrong. I rather believe that it misses a lot of Achilles' character. What is remarkable in the Grimal-like interpretation is that Achilles is blamed for his first anger whereas it is his second anger, his rage, that was more brutal. While his first experience concerns his, if I may use Max Scheler's terminology, *purely psychic feelings*, the second is about the whole of him, or, in Scheler's wording, his *spiritual feelings* (Scheler 1973: 342–344). Hence this is the latter which is capital to Achilles' personality.

Now, it is fair to consider one passage which might cast a shadow over Achilles. This is when Agamemnon in his second speech threatens to seize in

recompense the prize of either Achilles or Ajax or Odysseus. He ends by saying that the matter will be settled later since it is more urgent to return Chryseis to her father. It is at this moment that Achilles – if he wanted to avoid any quarrel with Agamemnon – could have shown himself shrewd and prudent by simply remaining silent. Instead he took up and answered in a provocative way that, some would say, only added fuel to the fire. Obviously, he did not perform a big deal of diplomacy to avoid amplification of the conflict. But was it his – that is a prince's – duty and role? After all, he was a party to the dispute and therefore *a priori* he could not have been a mediator, let alone a good one[72]. Only in view of the expedition hierarchy was he inferior to Agamemnon; otherwise he was his peer. In fact, he was *the best of the Achaeans* and this goes beyond his military capacities even if his value as a person/human is hard to disconnect from the military context insofar as in the *Iliad* the only Achilles we know is Achilles who acts, thinks and feels during the war[73].

Achilles' swiftness is, it seems, a treat of his temperament rather than of his behaviour during a war. It manifests itself on several levels. Achilles was swift not only in running (πόδας ὠκύς, also ποδαρκής), dying (ὠκύμορος, and even ὠκυμορώτατος), getting angry, but also in calming and extinguishing his anger. This becomes clear if one considers attentively the reasons for his both angers – which were no small offences. Hacker (2018: 71) cleverly wrote that any disproportionality is a mark of unreasonableness and any gross disproportionality is a mark of irrationality[74]. I am of the opinion that, all things considered, only Achilles' second experience, if at all, may be credited with *any disproportionality*, certainly not with *gross disproportionality*. Anyone who disagrees will have to consider Achilles' mental condition after the death of Patroclus. He will need to examine to what extent it was a critical situation, a situation close to or maybe at the edge of the clinical condition of the kind Jaspers (1954: 20) classified as *an ultimate situation* (*Grenzsituation*). If Achilles experienced this kind of situation after the death of Patroclus – a situation which is unavoidable, cannot be chosen nor modified and is crucial to one's existence – he cannot be appraised

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[72] Yet there is another element. Achilles speaks for himself when answering Agamemnon's threats about seizing his, viz. Achilles', prize. In doing so he is correct, for (i) he does not speak for Ajax nor Odysseus and (ii) he does not leave the matter ambiguous but clearly communicates to Agamemnon his state of mind. In I 230 – in his third answer to Agamemnon – Achilles is clear that if it is he who is stripped of his prize, it is because he defied him. That he could have been more tactful and expressed himself in a calmer manner is true. Yet it is odd to dissect Achilles' state of mind with such Proustian precision, all the while allowing that of Agamemnon considerable indulgence.

[73] Even if not only during the battle. See Monsacré 1984: 137: "Quand il [Achille] ne combat pas, il pleure".

[74] Hacker (2018: 74) comments on "Agamemnon's *explanation* of (not apology for) his rage" (original emphasis).

in the same way as a person in normal and everyday situation would be. Only by denying his extreme condition it is possible to see Achilles as unreasonable, or even as irrational. If Achilles' mental condition is recognised as exceptional, then a new element emerges. Although it is odd to praise Achilles for his critical condition, it is noteworthy that he did not succumb to permanent despair nor did he kill himself. Not only did he recover, but also improved – so much so that he even engaged in taking care of Priam. I would say that in all likelihood any therapist would wish such an outcome for a person in crisis[75]. Achilles coped with it on its own. In this he is a model of managing one's privation and of self-care, so to speak. Because of the evolution of his both angers Achilles epitomises inner transformation[76] after traumatic experiences, which undeniably is a proof of a mental progress of his.

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[75] See Bezantakos 1980: 165: "Achilles' character [...] introduces a new view of the world, which is more spiritual than that of the other heroes. According to this new view, repentance is not a useless feeling but it helps to reconciliate the opponents".

[76] It looks like what Dąbrowski (1996) called "inner psychic transformation".

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ON THE OCCURRENCE OF LIONS IN THE GREEK AND ROMAN WORLD

by

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> *Ein einziger Blick auf den Leib des Löwen, auf den Ausdruck seines Gesichts genügt, um der uralten Auffassung aller Völker, die das königliche Tier kennenlernten, vom Grunde des Herzens beizustimmen. Der Löwe ist der König der vierfüßigen Räuber, der Herrscher im Reiche der Säugetiere. Und wenn auch der ordnende Tierkundige diese königliche Würde nicht achtet und im Löwen nur eine besonders kräftig gebaute Katze erkennen muß; der Gesamteindruck des herrlichen Tieres zwingt auch den Forscher, ihm unter seinen Verwandten die erste Stelle einzuräumen.*
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> (Alfred Brehm, *Brehms Tierleben*. Bebilderte Volksausgabe in einem Band. Neu bearbeitet von Wilhelm Bardorff, Berlin 1966, p. 90)

ABSTRACT: This article focuses on descriptions of the geographical occurrence of lions in Greek and Latin literature. Special attention is devoted to Homer, Herodotus, Xenophon, Aristotle, Pausanias, Pliny the Elder, Aelian, Livy, Martial and Statius. Through close reading, this contribution examines in what contexts lions are portrayed and for what purpose. Aspects of literary genre and readership are also taken into account. Apart from the cultural and symbolic value of lions for the Greek and Roman world, information is extrapolated on the different types of interactions between lions and humans, on the keeping of lions, and on zoogeographical aspects. The use of these animals in the circus and for games is also investigated briefly.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the animal world, the lion (*Panthera leo*) has enjoyed a special role for humans since antiquity. It has often been associated with powerful figures and rulers. Given the animal's strength, ferocity and potential savagery, it represents power and danger, and evokes both fear and fascination. The zoologist Charles A.W. Guggisberg writes (1975: 138):

> Of the lion it can be safely said that it has made a deeper and more lasting impact on human imagination than any other animal. At an early time in history it attained a prominent place in myth, fable, and folklore. It was made a symbol

> of bravery and magnanimity and even found itself elevated to the exalted status of "King of Beasts." Its name has become firmly established in the everyday colloquialisms. Expressions such as "the lion's share," "lion-hearted," "as strong as a lion," and "entering the lion's den" are used constantly.

Modern zoologists usually distinguish between the African lion (*Panthera leo leo*), living in scattered populations in sub-Saharan Africa, and the Asian lion (*Panthera leo Persica*), occurring as an endangered population in western India (Gir National Park, Gujarat), although this distribution has recently been disputed[1]. On the IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature) Red List, lions are classified as a 'vulnerable' species, which means that they are at high risk of unnatural extinction without specific human intervention. Their living conditions are the result of human activity and the loss of habitat. However, as M. Sunquist and F. Sunquist (2002: 288) have pointed out, "until 200 years ago the species was quite widely distributed in North Africa, Arabia, the Middle East, and northwestern India".

In the ancient Graeco-Roman world lions[2] were known from North Africa and the Middle East. To what extent free-roaming lions were actually present in ancient Greece has been hotly debated by modern scholars. They occur in ancient literature from Homer onwards and are also represented in visual art. Aristotle (in the *Historia animalium*) and Pliny the Elder (in the *Naturalis historia*) offer valuable zoological descriptions of the different types of lions as well as their morphology and character, although it must be said that their accounts are not always fully reliable from a modern perspective.

While a large number of scholarly publications examine the role and function of lions in ancient art[3], this paper concentrates primarily on the description of their

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[1] On the description, distribution, ecology and behaviour of lions (incl. feeding ecology, social organisation, reproduction and development), as well as conservation efforts, see Guggisberg 1975: 138–179 and M. Sunquist, F. Sunquist 2002: 285–304. For further details on lions in the Gir Forest, see M. Sunquist, F. Sunquist 2002: 297–298: "Today the sole surviving population of wild Asiatic lions is confined to the 1,412 square kilometers of Gir Forest in the state of Gujarat. The Gir Forest was once the hunting preserve of the Nawab of Junagadh. In 1913, when lion numbers had fallen to around twenty individuals, the Nawab instituted protective measures to halt the decline. By 1950 lion numbers had increased to about 220, but heavy grazing by domestic cattle was destroying the forest undergrowth. Less and less vegetation was available for the wild ungulates, which were rapidly displaced by buffalo, cows, and goats". The authors record ca. 284 lions for the year of 1990 and ca. 304 lions for 1995, as opposed to ca. 20,000 lions in Africa, a figure noted by Guizard, Moutou 2020: 251. Higher figures are indicated on the website of the World Wild Fund for Nature (WWF, formerly called World Wildlife Fund: https://www.wwf.de/themen-projekte/artenlexikon/loewe, consulted on 12 June 2022): 23,000–39,000 lions in Africa (2013) and ca. 523 lions in Asia (2015).

[2] In Greek most commonly λέων (fem. λέαινα) and in Latin *leo* (fem. *leaena*). λέων is a loanword from an unknown source. For details, see Chantraine 1968: 635; Frisk 1991: vol. II, 113; Walde, Hofmann 1982: vol. I, 785; Ernout, Meillet 1985: 352.

[3] For a succinct summary of the role of the lion in ancient art, see Keller 1909: 58–61; Steier 1926: 988–990; Usener 1994a: 9–11; Toynbee 1973: 63–69; Stamatiou, Weckwerth 2010:

geographical occurrence in Greek and Latin literature. After a review of the Greek evidence (in particular Homer, Herodotus, Xenophon and Aristotle), a closer look at various Roman authors is taken. In addition to Pliny the Elder, there are sections on Aelian as well as Livy, Martial and Statius. Through close reading, this contribution examines in what contexts lions are portrayed and for what purpose. Aspects of literary genre and readership are also taken into account.

Apart from the cultural and symbolic value of lions for the Greek and Roman world, information is extrapolated on the different types of interactions between lions and humans, on the keeping of lions, and on zoogeographical aspects. The use of these animals in the circus and for games is also investigated briefly.

2. HOMER

In the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which draw a picture of the distant heroic world of the Trojan War and its aftermath, references to animals are ubiquitous. More than sixty species have been identified for both poems, including various domesticated animals such as cattle, horses, dogs, pigs, sheep and goats, but also birds, fish, insects, reptiles and wild beasts[4]. Within the group of domesticated animals, the horse is particularly prominent (mostly in the *Iliad*)[5]. Among predators, it is the lion that is most frequently mentioned in Homer. As Steven H. Lonsdale has demonstrated in his monograph *Creatures of Speech: Lion, Herding, and Hunting Similes in the Iliad* (Stuttgart 1990), lion imagery is very conspicuous in the *Iliad* and is often used to elucidate the behaviour of heroes[6]. In Homeric epic, a lion embodies courage, strength, persistence, agility

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264–268, 279–285; Kitchell 2014: 110–111. The dissertation by Rambo (1918) has sections on painted lions, sculptured lions and lion types on coins. Further on lions in ancient art, e.g. Kluge 1906; Lévêque 1949; Cahn 1950; Sievert 1952; Gabelmann 1965; Eliez 1967: 51–61; Müller 1978; Andreae 1985; Mertens-Horn 1986; Mielsch 2005: 24–34; von Hofsten 2007; Trakatelli 2011; Martini 2014; Jensen 2016; Zenzen 2018. Zenzen (2018: 17) rightly remarks: "Der Löwe ist eines der am häufigsten dargestellten Tiere in der antiken Kunst. Dies steht in keinem Verhältnis zu seinem realen Vorkommen oder gar zur Häufigkeit seines Zusammentreffens mit dem Menschen in den hier betrachteten Regionen und Zeiträumen. Dies geht so weit, dass er vielfach in Gebieten dargestellt wurde, in denen definitiv keine realen Löwen existierten". See also Kitchell 2014: 108–109; Lewis, Llewellyn-Jones 2018: 322.

[4] On animals in Homer, see especially Wegener 1887; Körner 1930; Rahn 1967; Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981; Heath 2005. For lists of species in the Homeric poems, see Wegener 1887: 39–40; Lonsdale 1990: 129–131; see also Lonsdale 1990: 25–28.

[5] On horses in Homer, see Wegener 1887: 17–22; Körner 1930: 24–29; Delebecque 1951; and Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: 169–178, who rightly says on p. 169: "[...] le rôle du cheval est de servir son maître dans son activité fondamentale: la guerre. Au même titre que son armement ou son char, le cheval est pour le guerrier bien né la marque essentielle de son rang dans la hiérarchie sociale. Le posséder est un luxe nécessaire, et sa valeur n'est pas exclusivement marchande".

[6] The following account is very much indebted to Lonsdale's book (1990), which provides a very detailed discussion of the evidence in Homer. See also Usener 1994b: 79–85; Zenzen

and swiftness, and is often portrayed as an aggressor and marauder who presents a potential threat to the peace and harmony of a certain community. At the same time, it can also find itself in the position of a victim getting attacked by others who want to protect themselves and other individuals. It is therefore appropriate as a foil to the warrior. A typical epithet of the lion is αἴθων (see *Il.* X 24, 178; XI 548; XVIII 161), which refers to the animal's character ('fiery', 'burning'), perhaps also to the colour of its fur ('red-brown', 'tawny')[7]; further attributes include ὀρεσίτροφος (see *Il.* II 299; XVII 61; *Od.* VI 130; IX 292) meaning 'mountain-bred', and ὠμοφάγος (see *Il.* V 782; VII 256; XV 592) meaning 'eating raw flesh'.

For the most part, animals in Homer occur as similes[8], the lion being no exception. Such digressions typically provide a more in-depth illustration of specific situations and moments in the narrative; they contribute to the visualisation of certain scenes and thus create a certain vividness (ἐνάργεια). Lonsdale has counted altogether fifty-one lion similes in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; among them, he has categorised thirty-two as developed, ranging from two to ten lines (with one repetition), and nineteen as short, consisting of just one single verse (with two repetitions)[9].

A characteristic lion simile can be found in the *Teichomachia* of Book XII of Homer's *Iliad* where the Lycian Sarpedon, the son of Zeus who fights on Troy's behalf, is roused against the Argives "like a lion against sleek cattle" (*Il.* XII 293: λέονθ᾽ ὡς βουσὶν ἕλιξιν) and moves forward as follows (XII 298–306; transl. by A.T. Murray):

> τὴν ἄρ᾽ ὅ γε πρόσθε σχόμενος, δύο δοῦρε τινάσσων,
> βῆ ῥ᾽ ἴμεν ὥς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, ὅς τ᾽ ἐπιδευὴς
> δηρὸν ἔῃ κρειῶν, κέλεται δέ έ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
> μήλων πειρήσοντα καὶ ἐς πυκινὸν δόμον ἐλθεῖν·

2018: 58–64; and Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: esp. 38–48, 56–64, who rightly points out on pp. 39–40: "Le lion apparaît dans *L'Iliade* comme un personnage central. [...] Symbole héroïque par excellence, il est indispensable au fonctionnement du récit". On animal similes in Homer more generally, see Dierauer 1977: 6–15; Korhonen, Ruonakoski 2017: 106–127.

[7] Wegener (1887: 13) is sceptical that αἴθων refers to the lion's colour. But see Frisk 1973: vol. I, 37–38 (s.v. αἴθω), who provides the meaning 'anzünden' or intransitive 'brennen, leuchten' and identifies αἴθων with αἰθός and αἴθοψ (both meaning "'funkelnd, glühend', auch 'brandfarbig, dunkel'"). – On Homeric epithets for animals more generally, see Lonsdale 1990: 28–33.

[8] Lonsdale (1990: 32) points out that animal similes are much more frequent in Homer than botanical similes: "If one contrasts the Homeric flora with the fauna, the more than fifty species of trees, plants and shrubs is somewhat less than that of zoological species. But the ratio of botanical similes to animal similes is 2:15".

[9] For a detailed list of all lion similes in Homer, see Lonsdale 1990: 143, who also notes that "[t]here are [...] more hexameter verses (146) occurring in lion similes than in any other simile type" (p. 39). See further Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: 59: "*L'Odyssée* ne compte pas plus de cinq comparaisons portant sur le thème du lion".

εἴ περ γάρ χ᾽ εὕρῃσι παρ᾽ αὐτόφι βώτορας ἄνδρας
σὺν κυσὶ καὶ δούρεσσι φυλάσσοντας περὶ μῆλα,
οὔ ῥά τ᾽ ἀπείρητος μέμονε σταθμοῖο δίεσθαι,
ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἢ ἥρπαξε μετάλμενος, ἠὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
ἔβλητ᾽ ἐν πρώτοισι θοῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἄκοντι·

This he held before him, and brandished two spears, and so set out to go like a mountain-nurtured lion that has long lacked meat, and his proud spirit tells him to go even into the well-built fold to make an attempt on the flocks. For even though he finds there the herdsmen with dogs and spears keeping watch around the sheep, yet he is not minded to be driven from the steading before he makes the attempt; but either he leaps among the flock and seizes one, or is himself struck among the foremost by a spear from a quick hand.

In this passage, the epithet ὀρεσίτροφος (XII 299) indicates the animal's origin, though not in precise geographical terms[10]. Its stately character and fearless determination are underscored by θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ (XII 300). The context of this simile is that of an attack performed by a lion who is preying on smaller animals (μῆλα: usually sheep or goats) and expects to be confronted with fierce opposition from herdsmen and their dogs. What these lines also emphasise is the lion's movements, motivated by its urgent desire for food. The analogy to Sarpedon's situation is made clear in the subsequent lines: his spirit (XII 307: θυμός; cf. XII 300) urges him to rush on the wall and break down the battlements[11]. The simile suggests that Sarpedon's hunger to overcome the wall and win glory is particularly strong – like that of the lion with regard to its prey. Hence, the animal's physical need is described to highlight the warrior's psychological motivation and bravery[12].

The most extensive lion simile in the *Iliad*, consisting of ten lines, is part of the duel between Achilles and Aeneas in Book XX. It appropriately captures Achilles' mental and physical disposition in this situation (*Il.* XX 164–175; transl. by A.T. Murray):

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[10] See also Lonsdale 1990: 42–43: "The background of lion similes is variable and sketchy, as in most Homeric topographical or geographical descriptions. [...] Only the barest details concerning the lion in his natural habitat emerge. [...] The details of the physical setting are not precisely correlated with tactical situations in the narrative".

[11] Hom. *Il.* XII 307–308: ὣς ῥα τότ᾽ ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα ἀνῆκε | τεῖχος ἐπαΐξαι διά τε ῥήξασθαι ἐπάλξεις. On this simile, see Usener 1994b: 83–85 and Korhonen, Ruonakoski 2017: 117–120; see also Lonsdale 1990: 62–65, 115.

[12] One may compare Hom. *Il.* XXIV 39–45: ἀλλ᾽ ὀλοῷ Ἀχιλῆι, θεοί, βούλεσθ᾽ ἐπαρήγειν, | ᾧ οὔτ᾽ ἄρ φρένες εἰσὶν ἐναίσιμοι οὔτε νόημα | γναμπτὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι, λέων δ᾽ ὡς ἄγρια οἶδεν, | ὅς τ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἄρ μεγάλῃ τε βίῃ καὶ ἀγήνορι θυμῷ | εἴξας εἶσ᾽ ἐπὶ μῆλα βροτῶν, ἵνα δαῖτα λάβῃσιν· | ὡς Ἀχιλεὺς ἔλεον μὲν ἀπώλεσεν, οὐδέ οἱ αἰδὼς | γίγνεται, ἥ τ᾽ ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἠδ᾽ ὀνίνησι. ("But it is the ruthless Achilles, you gods, that you are eager to assist, him whose mind is in no way right, nor the purpose in his breast one that may be bent; but his heart is wild, like a lion that at the urging of his great might and lordly heart goes out against the flocks of men to win himself a feast; so has Achilles lost all pity, nor has he shame, which harms men greatly and profits them", transl. by A.T. Murray.)

Πηλεΐδης δ᾽ ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίον ὦρτο λέων ὥς,
σίντης, ὅν τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἀποκτάμεναι μεμάασιν
ἀγρόμενοι, πᾶς δῆμος· ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀτίζων
ἔρχεται, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε κέν τις ἀρηιθόων αἰζηῶν
δουρὶ βάλῃ, ἐάλη τε χανών, περί τ᾽ ἀφρὸς ὀδόντας
γίγνεται, ἐν δέ τέ οἱ κραδίῃ στένει ἄλκιμον ἦτορ,
οὐρῇ δὲ πλευράς τε καὶ ἰσχία ἀμφοτέρωθεν
μαστίεται, ἐὲ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι,
γλαυκιόων δ᾽ ἰθὺς φέρεται μένει, ἤν τινα πέφνῃ
ἀνδρῶν, ἢ αὐτὸς φθίεται πρώτῳ ἐν ὁμίλῳ·
ὣς Ἀχιλῆ᾽ ὄτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
ἀντίον ἐλθέμεναι μεγαλήτορος Αἰνείαο.

And on the other side the son of Peleus rushed against him like a lion, a ravening lion that men are eager to slay, a whole people that has gathered together; and he at the first caring nothing of them goes his way, but when one of the youths swift in battle has struck him with a spear-cast, then he gathers himself with his mouth wide open, and foam appears about his teeth, and his mighty spirit groans within, and with his tail he lashes his ribs and his flanks on both sides, and rouses himself to fight, and with glaring eyes he rushes straight on in his fury, whether he slay some man or himself be slain in the foremost throng; so was Achilles driven by his fury and his gallant heart to go out to face great-hearted Aeneas.

These verses once again accentuate the lion's fierce behaviour as well as its opposition to a whole group of humans (XX 166: πᾶς δῆμος) who have gathered to attack the animal, presented as a serious threat to their community. The most intriguing thing about this scene is the meticulous and very vivid portrayal of the lion's rage and its bodily comportment, in particular the physical manifestations of its anger. What the animal and Achilles share is their forceful impulse and martial fury (μένος). Equally, the outcome of the confrontation between each of the two parties (lion vs. humans and Achilles vs. Aeneas) is left in suspense[13].

Another memorable example of the occurrence of lions in Homer can be found in the description of Achilles' shield, made for him by Hephaestus, in Book XVIII of the *Iliad*. Among other images, the blacksmith adds a herd of cattle, accompanied by four herdsmen and nine dogs, who get attacked by two lions (*Il.* XVIII 579–586; transl. by A.T. Murray):

σμερδαλέω δὲ λέοντε δύ᾽ ἐν πρώτῃσι βόεσσι
ταῦρον ἐρύγμηλον ἐχέτην· ὁ δὲ μακρὰ μεμυκὼς
ἕλκετο· τὸν δὲ κύνες μετεκίαθον ἠδ᾽ αἰζηοί.
τὼ μὲν ἀναρρήξαντε βοὸς μεγάλοιο βοείην
ἔγκατα καὶ μέλαν αἷμα λαφύσσετον· οἱ δὲ νομῆες
αὖτως ἐνδίεσαν ταχέας κύνας ὀτρύνοντες.
οἱ δ᾽ ἤ τοι δακέειν μὲν ἀπετρωπῶντο λεόντων,
ἱστάμενοι δὲ μάλ᾽ ἐγγὺς ὑλάκτεον ἔκ τ᾽ ἀλέοντο.

[13] For a more detailed analysis of this simile, including its structural and stylistic features, see Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: 86–87; Lonsdale 1990: 40–41; Usener 1994b: 81–82.

> But two terrible lions among the foremost cattle were holding a loud-lowing bull, and he, bellowing mightily, was being dragged by them, while after him pursued the dogs and young men. The lions had torn the hide of the great bull, and were devouring the inner parts and the black blood, while the herdsmen vainly sought to frighten them, urging on the swift hounds. But they shrank from fastening on the lions, but coming very close, they barked and sprang aside.

In just eight verses the terror caused by the two extremely aggressive and ravenous lions is adequately depicted. The herdsmen's intervention is unsuccessful: their dogs fear approaching the lions[14]. Though composed as an open-ended snapshot, this scene has a realistic touch. However, it is not located in space or time and therefore does not permit wide-ranging conclusions about the actual setting (the *Sitz im Leben*) of such a tableau.

The supposedly radical eating habits of lions are the basis for a comparison applied to the Cyclops Polyphemus in Book IX of the *Odyssey*. When he kills and devours two of Odysseus' comrades, nothing is left of them in the end (*Od.* IX 287–293; transl. by A.T. Murray):

> ὣς ἐφάμην, ὁ δέ μ' οὐδὲν ἀμείβετο νηλέι θυμῷ,
> ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἀναΐξας ἑτάροις ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἴαλλε,
> σὺν δὲ δύω μάρψας ὥς τε σκύλακας ποτὶ γαίῃ
> κόπτ'· ἐκ δ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέε, δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν.
> τοὺς δὲ διὰ μελεϊστὶ ταμὼν ὡπλίσσατο δόρπον·
> ἤσθιε δ' ὥς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, οὐδ' ἀπέλειπεν,
> ἔγκατά τε σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα μυελόεντα.

> So I spoke, but from his pitiless heart he made no answer, but sprang up and laid his hands upon my comrades. Two of them together he seized and dashed to the earth like puppies, and their brains flowed forth upon the ground and wetted the earth. Then he cut them limb from limb and made ready his supper, and ate them like a mountain-nurtured lion, leaving nothing – ate the entrails, and the flesh, and the bones and marrow.

The lion simile visualises the barbarous nature of the Cyclops: exhibiting an extremely uncivilised, cruel and even primitive behaviour, he abuses all laws of hospitality and completely devours his guests in this scene. This fits with the lack of social institutions, the non-existent cultivation of the countryside and the absence of technical skills among the Cyclopes, emphasised at the beginning of the episode (IX 106–115 and ff.). Hence, as Heath (2005: 79) has convincingly argued, Polyphemus is portrayed here and elsewhere in Book IX as "the ultimate Other"[15].

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[14] See Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: 57: "Tout comme le héros, le lion joue sur les risques qu'il prend en assaillant les étables ou les bergeries; il est l'ennemi complet, contre qui il faut mobiliser la collectivité entière des paysans". On the lions depicted on Achilles' shield, see also Zenzen 2018: 58–60.

[15] Specifically on this simile, see Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981: 61: "La relation entre l'analogie et son contexte est essentielle, à tel point que le texte ne se laisse pas scinder dans

Animal similes also occur in ancient Near Eastern literature and seem to have been based upon personal experience in the pastoral sphere and in the context of hunting. The question is whether this was also the case for the period during which the Homeric poems were written down. It is unclear whether the people of Asia Minor in the eighth and seventh centuries BC had first-hand experience of lions and were repeatedly confronted with situations where their livestock was threatened by these animals. They may not have had any direct contact with the lion as an indigenous species, but instead they may have taken a delight in learning about a creature that they perceived as unusual and exotic. In this case, the lion would have been an import from a Near Eastern background, adding an exceptional element to the Homeric epic. Regrettably, there is no conclusive answer as to whether lions actually existed in archaic Ionia. Outside epic poetry and visual art of the archaic period, there is no wide-ranging literary or zooarchaeological evidence. While this does not completely rule out the existence of lions in this area, it is possible that the available testimonies from this period were inspired by Near Eastern models. At the same time, it must be admitted that some of the lion similes in the Homeric poems are quite detailed, extensive and realistic, which might suggest that the familiarity with lions in the archaic world was not just second-hand, but based upon personal observation[16].

3. HERODOTUS, XENOPHON AND PAUSANIAS

In the fifth century BC, the most important source on lions is the historian **Herodotus** who has a vital interest in geography and ethnography. Born in Halicarnassus (modern-day Bodrum in the south-west of Asia Minor) around 485 BC, he seems to have travelled extensively and was keen to introduce the readers of the nine books of his *Histories* to the impressive diversity of the world, as it was known to him[17]. In his work he not only narrates the history of

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la citation. Pour la première fois en effet la distance est totalement abolie entre l'image et son modèle: le Cyclope Polyphème se comporte en bête sauvage et le lion est vu comme une bête sauvage". On the Cyclops episode more generally, see Heath 2005: 79–84; Fögen 2007b: 66–67.

[16] Perhaps a bit too uncompromising is the assessment offered by Meyer 1903: 65: "Die Löwenbilder des ältesten griechischen Schriftstellers, des Homer, sind so anschaulich und lebenswahr [...], daß sie füglich nur auf Naturanschauung beruhen können". See also Körner 1930: 14: "Die Genauigkeit fast aller Schilderungen aus dem Leben des Löwen zeigt, daß der Dichter ihn aus eigner Anschauung und Erfahrung kannte. Wir sind deshalb zu der Behauptung berechtigt, daß der Löwe zur Zeit, als die Ilias an der kleinasiatischen Westküste gedichtet wurde, dort häufig und wohlbekannt gewesen ist". An opposite view has been taken by Rakatsanis 1980: 367–368.

[17] On Herodotus as a traveller, see most recently Althoff 2019, who comes to the following conclusion: "Herodots Reisen sind primär sehr wahrscheinlich Forschungsreisen gewesen, die in der Tradition der ionischen Naturphilosophie den Fragen der Geographie der Welt und der Ethnographie galten. [...] An der Wurzel liegt [...] eine eigentümliche Neugier, nämlich zu erforschen, wie die Welt und die in ihr lebenden Menschen beschaffen sind und handeln" (p. 44).

the Persian Wars, but also portrays various different countries and their peoples, including their habits and cultural achievements. He is particularly fascinated by the fauna of certain regions and often describes the species that can be found in those places. While some of the information he provides is difficult to prove or even belongs to the realm of fiction, he is a valuable source for details on a wide range of animals.

In Book III of the *Histories*, he has reserved a longer section for the depiction of India, Arabia and Ethiopia. In the chapters on Arabia (III 107–113), Herodotus also talks about the fauna of this country and distinguishes between fertile (πολύγονα) and less fertile animals (ὀλιγόγονα). Divine providence (προνοίη) is said to have made timid and eatable creatures (δειλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα) more prolific than harmful and annoying ones (σχέτλια καὶ ἀνιηρά), which is useful for humans and their diet. To illustrate these two types of animals, Herodotus contrasts the hare, as a creature producing much offspring, with the lion, which is presented as follows (III 108; transl. by A.D. Godley):

> ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἕν· τίκτουσα γὰρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον τούτου τόδε ἐστί· ἐπεὰν ὁ σκύμνος ἐν τῇ μητρὶ ἐὼν ἄρχηται διακινεόμενος, ὃ δὲ ἔχων ὄνυχας θηρίων πολλὸν πάντων ὀξυτάτους ἀμύσσει τὰς μήτρας, αὐξόμενός τε δὴ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐσικνέεται καταγράφων· πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἐστί, καὶ τὸ παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ὑγιὲς οὐδέν.
>
> The lioness, a very strong and bold beast, bears offspring but once in her life, and then but one cub; for the uterus comes out with the cub in the act of birth. This is the reason of it: when the cub first begins to stir in the mother, its claws, much sharper than those of any other creature, tear the uterus, and as it grows, much more does it scratch and tear, so that when the hour of birth is near seldom is any of the uterus left whole.

This excerpt is proof of the author's tendency to include even biological details about certain animals in his narrative. Apart from the specifics concerning pregnancy and parturition among female lions, he also characterises this species as particularly strong and bold (ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον). However, other than that, the passage is not very revealing. It is not even clear whether Herodotus is referring to the occurrence of these animals in Arabia or to lions more generally. The entire passage reads more like the latter, i.e. a rather general consideration about more fertile and less prolific creatures, inserted between a narrative about Arabian 'winged snakes' (ὄφιες ὑπόπτεροι)[18].

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[18] What exactly Herodotus means by ὄφιες ὑπόπτεροι has been a matter of debate. See Radner 2007: 356: "Attempts to reconcile Herodotus' description with existing animals are a testament to the goodwill of modern scholars towards the Father of History, but the identification with flying lizards (*Draco volans*, found in far-away Malaya rather than in the Arabian desert) or, remarkably, locusts are highly problematic; they both have been thoroughly refuted, and justly so

More instructive for the reconstruction of the existence of lions in the Graeco-Roman world is another passage in the *Histories*. In Book VII Herodotus relates the expedition of Xerxes and his army to Greece. When he and his land army were on their way from Acanthus to the city of Therma, the camels that were carrying their provision were attacked by lions (VII 125; transl. by A.D. Godley):

> καταφοιτέοντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἅπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἳ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκεράιζον μούνας. θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον, ὅ τι κοτὲ ἦν τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μήτε πρότερον ὀπώπεσαν θηρίον μήτ᾽ ἐπεπειρέατο αὐτοῦ.
>
> Nightly they would come down out of their lairs and made havoc of the camels alone, seizing nothing else, man or beast of burden; and I marvel what was the reason that constrained the lions to touch nothing else but attack the camels, creatures whereof till then they had no sight or knowledge.

The author himself stresses here how surprised he was that the lions would not assault the Persian leader and his soldiers or the draught animals, but only the camels, although the lions cannot have been familiar with this type of non-indigenous animal[19]. Herodotus offers very specific information about the route that Xerxes and his land army were taking: they were marching through the Paeonian and the Crestonaean country to the river Cheidorus, flowing through the Mygdonian country and issuing by the marshes of the Axius (VII 124). It is therefore possible to get an idea of the geographical region in which the attack happened. Furthermore, he points out that there are many lions as well as wild oxen in this area which he more precisely defines as follows (VII 126; transl. by A.D. Godley):

> οὖρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσι ἐστὶ ὅ τε δι᾽ Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος καὶ ὁ δι᾽ Ἀκαρνανίης ῥέων Ἀχελῷος· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμόθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθε Εὐρώπης ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε πρὸς ἑσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελῴου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἠπείρῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

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in my opinion". Instead, Radner (2007: 360–361) proposes a different animal: a salamander with a very elongated snake-like body (*Ramonellus longispinus*). On 'winged snakes', see also Aelian, *De nat. anim.* II 38 and XVI 41 (referring to Megasthenes as his source).

[19] Usener (1994a: 18, n. 27) has the following explanation as to why the lions' attack was limited to the camels: "Aus Hdt. 1, 80 (vgl. auch 7, 83 und 87) geht eindeutig hervor, daß die Kamele, die als Lasttiere der Versorgungseinheit eingesetzt wurden, den Heereszug hinten abschlossen, da die Pferde vor ihnen scheuten, was als taktischer Vorteil ausgenutzt werden konnte, indem man ausnahmsweise Kamele in die erste Schlachtreihe postierte (Hdt. 1, 80). Aus zweierlei Gründen ist es daher 'biologisch sinnvoll', daß die Löwen 'nur' die Kamele angegriffen haben: Erstens sind die Kamele als Abschluß am Heeresende eine leichter isolierbare Beute; zweitens sind Kamele Tiere, denen das Aufstehen, bedingt durch ihre Anatomie, schwerfallt; auch insofern stellen sie also eine leicht erjagbare Beute dar". – The use of the word θωμάζω in this passage has led Rakatsanis (1980: 368) to doubt the value of Herodotus' report altogether. However, this is perhaps a rather extreme view.

> The boundary of the lions' country is the river Nestus that flows through Abdera and the river Achelous that flows through Acarnania. Neither to the east of the Nestus anywhere in the nearer part of Europe, nor to the west of the Achelous in the rest of the mainland, is any lion to be seen; but they are found in the country between those rivers.

According to Herodotus, the occurrence of lions is clearly limited to a specific region within Europe, occupying most of the Greek mainland, and in this he is followed by Aristotle[20]. The river Nestus, called Mesta in Bulgarian, is 230 kilometres long and runs through modern Bulgaria and Greece; it rises in the Rila Mountains and flows into the Aegean Sea near the island of Thasos. The Achelous is a river in western Greece; emptying into the Ionian Sea between Mesolongi and Astakos, it is 220 kilometres long and constituted the boundary between ancient Acarnania and Aetolia. However, Herodotus does not indicate the source from which he has derived this information, nor does he try to explain why lions do not exist outside these (rather broad) geographical boundaries.

He is nonetheless a more valuable basis for a zoogeographical approach to lions in the Graeco-Roman world than the later **Xenophon**, working in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. In his *Cynegeticus*, a short treatise on hunting, he devotes one chapter to wild beasts (θηρία), which explicitly includes lions, alongside leopards, lynxes, panthers and bears[21]. His comments on the territories in which these animals occur are relatively vague. He mentions that they are captured in foreign countries, around Mount Pangaeus and Cittus beyond Macedonia, on Mysian Olympus and Pindus, on Nysa beyond Syria, and in other mountain ranges capable of supporting such animals (*Cyn.* 11, 1). This account, which moves beyond Greece, differs from Herodotus and seems to be indebted to another source. The rest of the chapter is then taken up by a description of various hunting and killing methods. The poisoning of lions with aconite is practised in mountain regions which do not allow any traditional hunting because of the difficulty of the territory (διὰ δυσχωρίαν). The poison is mixed with the types of food typically eaten by wild beasts and placed in areas that they regularly frequent (11, 2). But there are also other devices to capture them, such as direct attack by armed and mounted men in the plain (11, 3) and the digging of deep holes as a trap and the use of a goat as a lure (11, 4). For the most part, Xenophon is not so much concerned with wild beasts as with hares, deer and boars, i.e. animals that can be chased with the help of hunting dogs. For the treatment of lions

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[20] See Arist. *Hist. anim.* VI 31, 579b5–8 and VII(VIII) 28, 606b14–17. These passages are further discussed below (see section 4).

[21] On the order in which these animals are listed by Xenophon, see Monbrun 2011: 356: "Le lion vient ici en tête d'une liste des 'Big Five' – comme un dirait au Kenya –, les cinq prédateurs chassés dans les montagnes de Grèce du Nord et centrale, d'Asie Mineure et du Proche-Orient syro-arabe".

in conjunction with similar beasts, he has reserved the separate chapter 11 which concludes the more practical considerations of his treatise[22], and this sets lions apart from other animals, also with regard to the geographical space in which these beasts of prey are typically found.

Directly influenced by one of the above passages in Herodotus was the much later travel writer and geographer **Pausanias** (c. AD 115–180) when he brings up Pulydamas, who had won prizes for the pancratium in the Olympics of 408 BC and supposedly strangled a lion near Mount Olympus without any weapons. This story, which the author explicitly connects with the myth of Heracles and his slaughter of the Nemean lion, is intertwined with a reference to the lions that attacked the camels of Xerxes' army. Like Herodotus, Pausanias also mentions the river Nestus, running through Abdera, but his reference to Mount Olympus, around which lions are said to roam, seems to have been derived from a different source[23]. While one may doubt the truthfulness of the report on Pulydamas, it seems to have been viewed in antiquity as an incident that really took place[24]. To some extent, one feels reminded of the charismatic figure of Alexander the Great as an audacious and fearless lion hunter[25].

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[22] Chapters 12 and 13 of the *Cynegeticus* are of a different character than the preceding sections. Chapter 12 deals with the various benefits to be derived from hunting such as good health, a suitable training for military activities and moral guidance. Chapter 13 (which may be spurious) is a defence of the educational value of hunting. For a detailed analysis of the *Cynegeticus*, see e.g. Gray 1985.

[23] See Pausanias, *Per.* VI 5, 4–5: Παγκρατίου μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἤδη γεγόνασιν ἐπιφανεῖς νῖκαι· Πουλυδάμαντι δὲ τάδε ἀλλοῖα παρὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ παγκρατίῳ στεφάνους ὑπάρχοντά ἐστιν. ἡ ὀρεινὴ τῆς Θρᾴκης, ἡ ἔνδον Νέστου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ῥέοντος διὰ τῆς Ἀβδηριτῶν, καὶ ἄλλα θηρία, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρέχεται καὶ λέοντας, οἳ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐπιθέμενοι τῷ Ξέρξου τὰς ἀγούσας καμήλους τὰ σιτία ἐλυμήναντο. οὗτοι πολλάκις οἱ λέοντες καὶ ἐς τὴν περὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον πλανῶνται χώραν· τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὄρους ἡ μὲν ἐς Μακεδονίαν πλευρά, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τέτραπται τὸν Πηνειόν· ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πουλυδάμας λέοντα ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ, μέγα καὶ ἄλκιμον θηρίον, κατειργάσατο οὐδενὶ ἐσκευασμένος ὅπλῳ. προήχθη δὲ ἐς τὸ τόλμημα φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα, ὅτι καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἔχει λόγος κρατῆσαι τοῦ ἐν Νεμέᾳ λέοντος. On this passage, see also Monbrun 2011: 359–360; Helly 1968: esp. 278–282; Rakatsanis 1980: 369.

[24] See Zenzen 2018: 211: "Auch wenn sich die Episode sehr legendenhaft anhört, ist durchaus denkbar, dass sie, abzüglich der verklärenden Stilisierung, auf einer tatsächlich stattgefundenen Begebenheit beruht. Entscheidend ist jedoch, dass der Löwenkampf des Poulydamas in der Antike als reales Ereignis angesehen wurde".

[25] See e.g. Curtius Rufus, *Hist.* VIII 1, 11–19 and especially Plutarch, *Alex.* 40, 3–4: ἐπέτεινεν οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις, κακοπαθῶν καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, ὥστε καὶ Λάκωνα πρεσβευτὴν παραγενόμενον αὐτῷ λέοντα καταβάλλοντι μέγαν εἰπεῖν· "Καλῶς γε, Ἀλέξανδρε, πρὸς τὸν λέοντα ἠγώνισαι περὶ τᾶς βασιλείας". τοῦτο τὸ κυνήγιον Κρατερὸς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκεν, εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς ποιησάμενος τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τῶν κυνῶν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ λέοντι συνεστῶτος καὶ αὐτοῦ προσβοηθοῦντος, ὧν τὰ μὲν Λύσιππος ἔπλασε, τὰ δὲ Λεωχάρης. On the lion hunt under Alexander the Great, see e.g. Briant 1991: esp. 215–217; Zenzen 2018: 158–167, 211–212, 276, 299, with further references to secondary literature. See also Dumont 2001: 319: "Le lion

In addition to the Pulydamas story, Pausanias also includes another personalised narrative involving a lion. When the Macedonian king Caranus defeated Cisseus, a chieftain from an adjacent area, he set up a trophy that was subsequently overthrown by a lion from Olympus. This incident is bound up with certain moral overtones, as can be gathered from the remark that setting up trophies as a sign of victory was likely to cause irritation among the neighbours of the Macedonians. Consequently, the practice was abandoned by Caranus and his successors, including Alexander the Great[26]. The lion thus takes on a symbolic function and appears like a *prodigium* to warn Caranus and his fellow countrymen against unnecessarily boastful and arrogant behaviour towards foreigners on whose good-will they are dependent. Through its sudden disappearance, expressed by the infinitive ἀφανισθῆναι, the animal is almost like a ghost that inspires awe and respect. At the same time, the lion could be interpreted as a symbol referring to the "barbarians dwelling around" (βαρβάροις τοῖς περιοικοῦσιν), as has been suggested by Philippe Monbrun[27].

4. ARISTOTLE

In the fourth century BC, Aristotle (384–322 BC) produced a considerable number of works on nearly every branch of learning[28]. He also took a serious interest in biology and zoology, as is obvious from his treatises entitled *Historia animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, *De motu animalium*, *De incessu animalium* and *De generatione animalium*[29]. In his rather sizeable *Historia animalium* he investigates over five-hundred species of animals and examines their physical characteristics (such as their anatomy, sense faculties and voice), their reproduction and breeding habits as well as their different habitats. Books V and VI

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imprègne la vie d'Alexandre, soit directement, soit par l'intermédiaire d'Héracles". More generally on hunting under Alexander, see Seyer 2007: 93–123.

[26] See Paus. IX 40, 8–9: λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων Καρανὸν βασιλεύοντα ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κρατῆσαι μάχῃ Κισσέως, ὃς ἐδυνάστευεν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ ὁμόρῳ· καὶ ὁ μὲν τρόπαιον ὁ Καρανὸς κατὰ νόμους τοὺς Ἀργείων ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ· **ἐπελθόντα δέ φασιν ἐκ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου λέοντα ἀνατρέψαι τε τὸ τρόπαιον καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι**, συνεῖναί τε γνώμῃ Καρανὸν οὐκ εὖ βουλεύσασθαι βαρβάροις τοῖς περιοικοῦσιν ἐς ἔχθραν ἐλθόντα ἀδιάλλακτον, καταστῆναί τε χρῆναι μήτε ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ Καρανοῦ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν ὕστερον βασιλευσόντων Μακεδονίας τρόπαια ἵστασθαι, εἰ ἐς εὔνοιάν ποτε τοὺς προσχώρους ὑπάξονται. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐκ ἀναστήσας οὔτε ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ τρόπαια οὔτε ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς νίκαις.

[27] See Monbrun 2011: 356: "L'équivalence est totale entre le lion, dont la présence est banalisée, et le caractère non grec des populations. Ces carnassiers n'ont pas leur place dans la Grèce des cités: 'Pas de ça chez nous!' d'une certaine façon et on peut comparer avec cet autre prédateur qu'est le loup".

[28] See the extensive list of titles in Diogenes Laertius V 22–27.

[29] The secondary literature on Aristotle as a pioneer of zoology and biological psychology is almost boundless. One may refer to Dierauer 1977: 100–161; see also Dierauer 1998: 51–57; Dumont 2001: 217–264; Giebel 2003: 61–68.

are dedicated to the different modes of reproduction among animals. Lions are discussed within the long section on the copulation of quadrupeds in Book VI, between the chapters on bears (30) and hyaenas (32). It reads as follows (*Hist. anim.* VI 31, 579a31–b14; transl. by A.L. Peck):

> Λέων δ' ὅτι μὲν ὀχεύει ὄπισθεν καὶ ἔστιν ὀπισθουρητικόν, εἴρηται πρότερον·[30] ὀχεύει δὲ καὶ τίκτει οὐ πᾶσαν ὥραν, καθ' ἕκαστον μέντοι τὸν ἐνιαυτόν. τίκτει μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἔαρος, τίκτει δ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ δύο, τὰ μέντοι πλεῖστα ἕξ· τίκτει δ' ἐνίοτε καὶ ἕν. ὁ δὲ λεχθεὶς μῦθος περὶ τοῦ ἐκβάλλειν τὰς ὑστέρας τίκτοντα ληρώδης ἐστί, συνετέθη δ' ἐκ τοῦ σπανίους εἶναι τοὺς λέοντας, ἀποροῦντος τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ τὸν μῦθον συνθέντος· σπάνιον γὰρ τὸ γένος τὸ τῶν λεόντων ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ γίγνεται τόπῳ, ἀλλὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπάσης ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀχελῴου καὶ τοῦ Νέσσου ποταμοῦ. τίκτει δὲ καὶ ὁ λέων πάνυ μικρὰ οὕτως ὥστε δίμηνα ὄντα μόλις βαδίζειν. οἱ δ' ἐν Συρίᾳ λέοντες τίκτουσι πεντάκις, τὸ πρῶτον πέντε, εἶτ' ἀεὶ ἑνὶ ἐλάττονα· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐκέτι οὐδὲν τίκτουσιν, ἀλλ' ἄγονοι διατελοῦσιν. οὐκ ἔχει δ' ἡ λέαινα χαίτην, ἀλλ' ὁ ἄρρην λέων. βάλλει δ' ὁ λέων τῶν ὀδόντων τοὺς κυνόδοντας καλουμένους τέτταρας μόνους, δύο μὲν ἄνωθεν δύο δὲ κάτωθεν· βάλλει δ' ἑξάμηνος ὢν τὴν ἡλικίαν.
>
> Lions copulate rearwards, and are opisthuretic, as has been already stated. They do not copulate and bear at every season, but once every year. Parturition is in spring, and the lioness bears usually two cubs, at the most six, though sometimes only one. The story which is told about the lioness losing her uterus in parturition is nonsense, and was made up to account for the scarcity of lions by someone who was at a loss to explain it otherwise. It is a fact that the lion is a scarce animal, and is not found in many places – in the whole of Europe it occurs only in the tract of country between the rivers Acheloös and Nessos. The lioness' cubs are so small when born that at two months they can barely walk. Lions in Syria bear five times: five the first time, then one fewer each succeeding time; after that they bear no more, but continue without offspring. The lioness has no mane; only the lion has one. The lion sheds only the four so-called canine teeth, two from the upper jaw and two from the lower; this happens at the age of six months.

This chapter is densely packed with different types of information and goes far beyond the topic of reproduction. Particularly relevant for the purpose of this paper is the reference to the generally rare occurrence of lions. Aristotle localises their existence in Europe in a similar way to Herodotus (VII 126; see above) and adds Syria[31]. From this resemblance and from his critique of the myth about lionesses losing their uterus during birth (narrated in Hdt. III 108; see above), it is likely that he

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[30] This refers back to Arist. *Hist. anim.* II 1, 500b15–16 and V 2, 539b19–24. See also *Hist. anim.* VII(VIII) 5, 594b25–26.

[31] On geographical issues, see also Arist. *Hist. anim.* VII(VIII)28, 606b14–17: ἔτι δὲ λέοντες μὲν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μᾶλλον, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τόπῳ τοῦ Ἀχελῴου καὶ Νέσσου μόνον· παρδάλεις δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ οὐ γίνονται. On this passage, see Monbrun 2011: 357: "La comparaison avec la panthère spécifique à l'Asie fait même du lion un animal proprement européen".

is engaging with the historian in this passage, although he does not quote him overtly. At the same time, he turns out to have a sufficiently critical attitude towards his sources; he is not prepared to accept everything that has been transmitted from his predecessors. Also, there is one crucial difference between the two authors: while Herodotus speaks of many lions for the region he describes, Aristotle notes their general scarcity[32]. Perhaps this is due to the chronological gap between the two writers: it cannot be ruled out that the number of lions in mainland Greece was seriously diminished over a period of roughly 100 years. Yet, one may equally well surmise that Aristotle was also using other sources than Herodotus alone. It is even possible that he had first-hand experience, as is suggested by a passage at the beginning of Book II of the *Historia animalium* about the anatomy of generically identical and different animals, in which he briefly refers to the dissection of lions[33]. However, whether he actively participated in such anatomical procedures cannot be safely deduced from this little segment.

Another passage, to be seen in the context of the nutrition of animals, outlines the eating habits of lions[34]. It not only groups them together with other wild and saw-toothed carnivores, but also characterises their manner of devouring food as violent (τῇ δὲ βρώσει χρῆται λάβρως). Moreover, Aristotle comments on the digestion and defecation of lions as well as the smell of their winds and urine. Other than that, this chapter yields nothing on the geographical distribution of these animals. However, it reads like an account of rather precise facts, presumably stimulated by personal observation – at least to some extent. This would fit nicely with Aristotle's ambition to base his research on an empirical approach. But this impression cannot be fully substantiated from the text, and it is absolutely undeniable that Aristotle was using a variety of written sources for his own publications. With regard to lions, for example, his discussion of bone marrow in Book III contains a reference to the opinion of other authors, although their actual names are not indicated[35].

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[32] Hdt. VII 126: Εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ **λέοντες πολλοὶ** καὶ βόες ἄγριοι [...].

[33] Arist. *Hist. anim.* II 1, 497b15–18: Τὰ μὲν οὖν τετράποδα καὶ ζῳοτόκα κεφαλὴν μὲν ἔχει καὶ αὐχένα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ μόρια ἅπαντα, διαφέρει δὲ τὰς μορφὰς τῶν μορίων ἕκαστον. καὶ ὅ γε λέων τὸ τοῦ αὐχένος ἔχει ἓν ὀστοῦν, σφονδύλους δ' οὐκ ἔχει· **τὰ δ' ἐντὸς ἀνοιχθεὶς** ὅμοια πάντ' ἔχει κυνί.

[34] Arist. *Hist. anim.* VII(VIII) 5, 594b18–28: ὁ δὲ λέων σαρκοφάγον μέν ἐστιν ὥσπερ καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἄγρια καὶ καρχαρόδοντα, τῇ δὲ βρώσει χρῆται λάβρως, καὶ καταπίνει πολλὰ οὐ διαιρῶν, εἶθ' ἡμέρας δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἀσιτεῖ· δύναται γὰρ διὰ τὸ ὑπερπληροῦσθαι. ὀλιγόποτον δ' ἐστίν. τὸ δὲ περίττωμα προίεται σπανίως· διὰ τρίτης γὰρ ἢ ὅπως ἂν τύχῃ προχωρεῖ, καὶ τοῦτο ξηρὸν καὶ ἐξικμασμένον, ὅμοιον κυνί. προίεται δὲ καὶ τὴν φῦσαν σφόδρα δριμεῖαν καὶ τὸ οὖρον ἔχον ὀσμήν, διόπερ οἱ κύνες ὀσφραίνονται τῶν δένδρων· οὐρεῖ γὰρ αἴρων τὸ σκέλος ὥσπερ οἱ κύνες. ἐμποιεῖ δὲ καὶ ὀσμὴν βαρεῖαν ἐν τοῖς ἐσθιομένοις καταπνέων· καὶ γὰρ ἀνοιχθέντος αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔσω ἀτμίδα ἀφίησι βαρεῖαν.

[35] Arist. *Hist. anim.* III 20, 521b11–15: οὐ πάντα δ' ἔχει τὰ ὀστᾶ μυελόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοῖλα, καὶ τούτων ἐνίοις οὐκ ἔνεστιν· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ λέοντος ὀστᾶ τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἔχει πάμπαν, τὰ δ' ἔχει μικρόν, διόπερ ἔνιοι οὔ φασιν ὅλως ἔχειν μυελὸν τοὺς λέοντας, ὥσπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον.

In the introductory chapter of the first book of the same work (*Hist. anim.* I 1, 488b13–27), he ascribes certain dispositions or character traits to individual species. He distinguishes them by applying the criterion κατὰ τὸ ἦθος. The lion also appears in this list and is characterised as 'brave and noble' (ἀνδρεῖα καὶ εὐγενῆ, οἷον λέων), whereas a wild beast such as the wolf is presented as 'wild and scheming' (ἄγρια καὶ ἐπίβουλα)[36]. This is an important passage because it attributes to the lion a pre-eminent role among beasts of prey. In particular the adjective εὐγενής, with its meaning 'well-born' or 'high-bred', can easily be reconciled with the concept of the lion as the ruler or king of animals.

The concept of disposition or character (τὰ ἤθη τῶν ζῴων) is then further elaborated in a much later passage. For the lion, Aristotle adds that its character very much depends on whether it has consumed enough food (*Hist. anim.* VIII(IX) 44, 629b9–12; transl. by D.M. Balme):

> καὶ γὰρ ὁ λέων ἐν τῇ βρώσει μὲν χαλεπώτατός ἐστι, μὴ πεινῶν δὲ καὶ βεβρωκὼς πραότατος. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἦθος οὐχ ὑπόπτης οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ὑφορώμενος οὐδέν, πρός τε τὰ σύντροφα καὶ συνήθη σφόδρα φιλοπαίγμων καὶ στερκτικός.
>
> For even the lion, although it is very dangerous while feeding, if it is not hungry and has fed is very gentle. In character it is not shy nor suspicious of anything, and towards those reared with it and familiar it is very playful and affectionate.

Once again, this assessment sounds as if it was derived from autopsy. The rather sympathetic tone of Aristotle's appreciation is also difficult to ignore. The paragraph is followed by an explanation of the lion's behaviour when it is hunted, its own physical comportment as a hunter, its fear of fire and its longevity (*Hist. anim.* VIII(IX) 44, 629b13–630a9). Interwoven with these considerations is a distinction between two different types of lions: on the one hand those with a more rounded body and curlier hair which are said to be more cowardly (δειλότερον) and on the other hand those with a longer body and good hair which are seen as braver (ἀνδρειότερον)[37]. Physical shape or outward appearance are thus directly connected to the species' character or spirit[38].

As one might expect from a writer like Aristotle, he proposes a whole series of details on lions, taking into account their physiology, character, nutrition and

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[36] But see Arist. *Hist. anim.* VI 18, 571b27–30 regarding the character of certain animals during the mating-season: καὶ γὰρ ἄρκτοι καὶ λύκοι καὶ λέοντες χαλεποὶ τοῖς πλησιάζουσι γίγνονται περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον. πρὸς ἀλλήλους δ' ἧττον μάχονται διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀγελαῖον εἶναι μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ζῴων.

[37] Arist. *Hist. anim.* VIII(IX) 44, 629b33–630a1: γένη δ' ἐστὶ λεόντων δύο· τούτων δ' ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν στρογγυλώτερον καὶ οὐλοτριχώτερον δειλότερον, τὸ δὲ μακρότερον καὶ εὔτριχον ἀνδρειότερον.

[38] All other passages on lions in Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, dealing with minor details, are listed in the index to the third volume of the Loeb Classical Library edition of the work (Balme 1991: 578).

geographical manifestation as well as their various forms of interaction with humans. He draws a sufficiently nuanced picture, but is admittedly more concerned with aspects of the lion's body and its functions than with other issues.

5. PLINY THE ELDER

Like Aristotle, Pliny the Elder paid a great deal of attention to the workings of nature and animals. He reserved four books for them in his monumental *Naturalis historia* (Books VIII–XI), which altogether comprises 37 books. However, his narrative comes across as less straightforward than Aristotle's *Historia animalium* because Pliny often combines more technical, scientific instruction with digressions, usually in the form of anecdotes or stories from Roman history; furthermore, his text has certain political connotations and a moral dimension which are even present in the four books on animals[39]. This rather diversified nature of his work is also noticeable in the extensive section on lions in Book VIII (*Nat. hist.* VIII 41–58).

Pliny readily admits that his chapters on lions rely to a large extent on the highly admired Aristotle, whose untiring quest for knowledge he lavishly praises. Yet at the same time, he has reserved for himself the right to go beyond his Greek model and supplement his findings with facts unknown to Aristotle. Such a declaration, whether justified or not, vividly testifies to Pliny's self-perception as a scholar who is eager to gather as much data in his work as possible[40]. His paragraphs on lions are indeed to a certain degree dependent on Aristotle. Hence, he also limits their occurrence in Europe to the same area between the rivers Achelous and Mestus (VIII 45) and takes up several other details as well, such as the diagnosis of different types and characters of lions, their nutrition and digestion, or their reaction to being hunted[41]. In addition, Pliny locates lions in Africa, where the sexual urge and quarrelsomeness of males is allegedly very pronounced (VIII 42), and he engages with other sources such as the explicitly

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[39] See Fögen 2007a. For a more in-depth analysis of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* and further secondary literature, see Fögen 2009a: 201–264.

[40] Plin. *Nat. hist.* VIII 44: "Aristoteles diversa tradit, vir quem in his magna secuturus ex parte praefandum reor. Alexandro Magno rege inflammato cupidine animalium naturas noscendi delegataque hac commentatione Aristoteli, summo in omni doctrina viro, aliquot milia hominum in totius Asiae Graeciaeque tractu parere ei iussa, omnium quos venatus, aucupia piscatusque alebant quibusque vivaria, armenta, alvearia, piscinae, aviaria in cura erant, ne quid usquam genitum ignoraretur ab eo. quos percunctando quinquaginta ferme volumina illa praeclara de animalibus condidit. quae a me collecta in artum cum iis quae ignoraverat quaeso ut legentes boni consulant, in universis rerum naturae operibus medioque clarissimi regum omnium desiderio cura nostra breviter peregrinantes".

[41] On physiological and behavioural details, see also Plin. *Nat. hist.* VII 5; VIII 130, 136; X 47, 128, 173, 176, 206; XI 166, 172, 177, 214, 229, 233, 245, 253, 255, 265, 277; XXIV 162; XXIX 78; XXXIV 127.

mentioned King Juba of Mauretania (VIII 48). Furthermore, he speaks of black lions whose occurrence is limited to Syria[42].

Where he goes beyond Aristotle and pursues a narrative strategy of his own is found in passages where he assembles historical and anecdotal material. A good example is the paragraph on lion fights in the circus (VIII 53; transl. by H. Rackham):

> Leonum simul plurium pugnam Romae princeps dedit Q. Scaevola P. f. in curuli aedilitate, centum autem iubatorum primus omnium L. Sulla, qui postea dictator fuit, in praetura; post eum Pompeius Magnus in circo DC, in iis iubatorum CCCXV, Caesar dictator CCCC.
>
> A fight with several lions at once was first bestowed on Rome by Quintus Scaevola [consul 95 BC], son of Publius, when curule aedile, but the first of all who exhibited a combat of 100 maned lions was Lucius Sulla, later dictator, in his praetorship [93 BC]. After Sulla Pompey the Great showed in the Circus 600, including 315 with manes, and Caesar when dictator [49, 48, 46, 45 and 44 BC] 400.

Almost half of the section on lions is taken up by such stories. Some of them have an important cultural and symbolic function for Pliny's Roman readership, whereas others read like pleasant and appealing tales about remarkable forms of interaction between lions and humans, especially incidents where the animals have injured themselves (through a thorn in the foot or a bone stuck in the teeth) and require human assistance (VIII 56–58); they belong to the same vein as the famous story about Androcles and the lion, as narrated e.g. by Aelian (*De nat. anim.* VII 48) and Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* V 14)[43]. Hence, unlike Aristotle, Pliny blends physiological, zoological and zoogeographical pieces of information with anecdotes that one might not expect in a technical work. However, as has been recognised by recent scholarship, Pliny writes for a much broader audience than his Greek predecessor and for that reason includes elements geared towards diversion and entertainment[44]. A massive oeuvre such as the *Naturalis historia* would have been difficult to digest for many Roman readers if it had contained nothing but technical and purely scientific material.

6. AELIAN

Claudius Aelianus' work *Περὶ ζῴων ἰδιότητος* (Lat. *De natura animalium*) in 17 books is completely devoted to animals; it is a collection of numerous, mostly shorter and stylistically undemanding texts dealing with a broad spectrum

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[42] Plin. *Nat. hist.* VIII 62: "Panthera et tigris macularum varietate prope solae bestiarum spectantur; ceteris unus ac suus cuique generi color est; leonum tantum in Syria niger".

[43] See the detailed discussion of the Androcles story in Fögen 2024, with references to secondary literature.

[44] See in particular Fögen 2007a, with further references.

of animal species. Unlike Aristotle in his zoological works, Aelian does not always pay a great deal of attention to purely scientific details in the more narrow sense; instead, he is prepared not only to incorporate wondrous or even paradoxical elements (*mirabilia*) into his narrative, but also to integrate a certain ethical agenda which is remarkably different from what we can read in other writers, especially in the texts of strict adherents of traditional Stoic philosophy which denied animals reason and various other qualities[45].

Repeatedly, Aelian emphasises that his remarks are based upon personal observation (αὐτοψία) or at least on reliable reports provided by certain authorities[46]. He does not present his material in a systematic order (e.g. by species, their features or occurrence), but deliberately follows the principle of variation (ποικιλία), which is supposed to avoid boredom on the part of the reader[47], as is highlighted by the author in the epilogue to his work. This principle can be illustrated through the example of Aelian's treatment of lions. They are not discussed in one lengthy, coherent section, but in the form of several reasonably short individual chapters which accentuate different aspects of these animals.

Although it is hard to deny that Aelian integrates a great deal of anecdotal or even fabulous material and thus apparently serves the needs of a far broader and more diverse readership than that of Aristotle, there are quite a few passages on lions which can be classified as relatively neutral and fact-based. For example, he mentions that there are no lions in the Peloponnese (*De nat. anim.* III 27)[48]. Gender-specific differences are highlighted in two passages: male lions differ from females through their manes – a fact that is seen by Aelian as a sign that nature preferred the male sex among humans and animals alike (XI 26); he also remarks that male and female lions do not go hunting together because they are physically self-sufficient and do not require each other's help (IV 3). In some chapters, Aelian discusses the

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[45] On Aelian's *Περὶ ζῴων ἰδιότητος*, see e.g. Scholfield 1958: vol. I, xi–xxix; Hübner 1984; Smith 2014; Brodersen 2018: 7–20; Fögen forthcoming 2024; on Smith 2014, see the detailed review by Fögen 2016. For a discussion of Aelian's works as a whole, see Kindstrand 1998.

[46] On αὐτοψία, see e.g. Ael. *De nat. anim.* II 11; V 26, 47; XI 40. On Aelian's authorities, see Kindstrand 1998: 2971–2975.

[47] On Aelian's ποικιλία, see in particular Kindstrand 1998: 2962–2964; Smith 2014: 47–66; Hindermann 2016.

[48] On *De nat. anim.* III 27, see Usener 1994a: 27: "Diese Nachricht dürfte zumindest für die Zeit des Autors richtig sein; man wußte zuvor bereits, daß es dort zumindest in klassischer Zeit (erst heute wissen wir von Knochenfunden, die durch vergleichende anatomische Untersuchungen eindeutig dem Löwen zuzuordnen sind) keine Löwen gab (Herodot etc.). Durch Knochenfunde indes hat heute die Ansicht sehr an zwingender Wahrscheinlichkeit gewonnen, daß es in mykenischer Zeit und vielleicht sogar darüber hinaus dort Löwen gegeben hat. Ob Aelian als Gewährsmann für die Frühzeit zu akzeptieren ist, muß sehr in Zweifel gezogen werden, zumal seine Aussage keinerlei zeitliche Fixierung erlaubt. Somit ist der Zeugniswert gering und muß auch aus anderen Gründen fraglich bleiben".

zoological and physiological characteristics of lions, for example their bone structure, reproduction, nutrition and character traits (IV 35), furthermore he outlines how lion cubs are nursed by their mother (V 50); as he also points out, referring back to Aristophanes of Byzantium, the cubs are called σκύμνοι and λεοντιδεῖς (VII 43)[49]. In two passages, he mentions that lions as well as bears, wolves, leopards and dogs all have sharp claws and teeth or fangs (I 30 and XI 37)[50]. In Aelian's view, lions occurring in India belong to the biggest and wildest of their species; he finds their outward appearance, in particular their black mane, formidable, even though he admits that even these lions could to some extent be tamed (XVII 26). Deadly for lions as well as other animals is the consumption of a particular type of fish, which Aelian locates in the area of Armenia, a country that is apostrophised as being extremely rich in wild animals. According to Aelian, the existence of that fish was utilised by the Armenians to kill lions, leopards and wolves: they filled the poisonous fish flour into the carcasses of sheep and goats which were used as baits for predators (XVII 31).

At the same time, the work is full of passages in which he attributes certain moral characteristics to different animals and thus anthropomorphises them in no small measure[51]. This is clearly the case for the beginning of Book III of *Περὶ ζῴων ἰδιότητος* which offers a description of the lions living in the region of the African Maurusians and their interaction with the inhabitations of this area (III 1). Several times in this chapter, Aelian mentions that lions from this region understood the language of the locals. To some extent, this text reads like a fable in which animals are linguistically gifted. At any rate, the story has a deeper dimension because it accentuates the boundaries between human and animals, especially their natural habitats to which they belong. It seems to suggest that lions must live and behave in a specific way which corresponds to their nature – apostrophised here explicitly as royal. This means that they should not beg humans for food, but are very clearly in charge of its procurement[52]. If this does not happen, the rules of nature are broken and run counter to the character of the lion.

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[49] See Kaczyńska 2018: esp. 39–40. On terminological reflections in Aelian's *Περὶ ζῴων ἰδιότητος* and their function, see Fögen 2009b.

[50] For other physiological and behavioural details, see *De nat. anim.* III 31, V 50, VI 22, VIII 27 and XIV 9 (lions fearing the crow of cockerels); VI 1 and XIII 14 (the lion's tail); VII 6 (lions fearing fire); VII 32 (lions fearing elephants); IX 1 (the behaviour of lions who have reached an advanced age); IX 6 (lions being silent at birth); IX 30 (the nimble movement of lions); and XVII 46 (lions' preference for the meat of camels; see also Hdt. VII 125, discussed above).

[51] See in particular the following passage in the programmatic preface to his work (*De nat. anim.* praef.): τὸ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις μετεῖναί τινος ἀρετῆς κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πλεονεκτημάτων καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔχειν συγκεκληρωμένα, τοῦτο ἤδη μέγα. καὶ εἰδέναι γε μὴ ῥᾳθύμως τὰ προσόντα αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ, καὶ ὅπως ἐσπουδάσθη οὐ μεῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων, εἴη ἄν τινος πεπαιδευμένης φρενὸς καὶ μαθούσης πολλά.

[52] See also Smith 2014: 229.

The special status of lions is emphasised through a story about how the inhabitants of Ambracia, a city located on the Greek west coast in the region of Epirus, honoured a lioness because she had torn apart the tyrant Phaÿlos and thus freed them from his rule (XII 37). This incident is reported together with similar cases of animals being the helpers of humans and hence deserving adequate recognition.

On several occasions, Aelian includes reports on lions being associated with the divine sphere. A good example is a passage on tame lions in Elam, an area located east of the river Tigris and north of the Persian Gulf (XII 23): they are said to welcome visitors at the shrine to a deity (Adonis or Anaïtis, depending on the reading of the text) and are attributed a kind of behaviour, expressed through the two adverbs σωφρόνως ('temperately', 'in a self-controlled manner') and κεκοσμημένως ('in a becoming manner', 'in an orderly manner'), that anthropomorphises them rather heavily.

More ambivalent is a longer passage in Book V of Aelian's work (V 39). At the start, the author acknowledges the philosopher Democritus when he emphasises that lions have a wild and angry spirit from birth (ἤδη τρόπον τινὰ τεθυμωμένον καὶ ἐξ ὠδίνων δρασείοντά τι γεννικόν). Other animals are afraid of them and thus do not dare to touch even the leftovers of their prey. The Egyptians are said to have assigned them to the sun because these animals are awake even in their sleep, which is recognisable from the fact that they frequently move their tails. However, in the final third of this chapter, Aelian says that lions, when domesticated since the time when they were cubs, are extremely gentle, agreeable to meet and even fond of play (ἡμερωθείς γε μὴν ἐξέτι νεαροῦ πραότατός ἐστι καὶ ἐντυχεῖν ἡδύς, καὶ ἔστι φιλοπαίστης). He provides several famous examples of such tame lions and their interactions with humans (V 39; transl. by A.F. Scholfield):

> Ἄννων γοῦν λέοντα εἶχε σκευαγωγόν, καὶ Βερενίκῃ λέων πρᾶος συνῆ, τῶν κομμωτῶν διαφέρων οὐδὲ ἕν. ἐφαίδρυνε γοῦν τῇ γλώττῃ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰς ῥυτίδας ἐλέαινε, καὶ ἦν ὁμοτράπεζος, πράως τε καὶ εὐτάκτως ἐσθίων καὶ ἀνθρωπικῶς. <καὶ> Ὀνόμαρχος δὲ ὁ Κατάνης τύραννος καὶ ὁ Κλεομένους υἱὸς συσσίτους εἶχον λέοντας.
>
> For instance, Hanno kept a lion to carry his baggage; a tame lion was the companion of Berenice and was no different from her tiring-slaves: for example, it would softly wash her face with its tongue and smooth away her wrinkles; it would share her table and eat in a sober, orderly fashion just like a man. And Onomarchus, the Tyrant of Catana, and the son of Cleomenes both had lions with them as table-companions.

The example of Queen Berenice[53], which supplements the remarks about Egypt in the first third of this chapter, especially testifies once again to Aelian's

[53] Which of the queens called Berenice is meant here remains unclear. Perhaps it is Berenice II (third century BC), wife and co-regent of Ptolemaeus III. See also Vara Donado 1989: 212, n. 89; Prioux, Trinquier 2015: esp. 44; Stahlhut 2020: 250.

preference for reports about anthropomorphised animals. In the above quotation, the anthropomorphisation is explicitly underscored by the adverb ἀνθρωπικῶς. What is also conspicuous is the fact that the tame lions are depicted here as connected to ruler figures who apparently surround themselves with such animals because they are visible symbols of their power[54]. One may think of the parallel of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius Antonius, called Caracalla (regn. AD 211–217), who not only kept numerous tame lions, but had also turned his lion Akinakes ('Sword') into his table companion (ὁμοτράπεζον ὁμόκλινόν τε) and often caressed him in public[55]. However, in the above excerpt, the case of Berenice is particularly intriguing: her lion has the function of a servant and is in charge of her beauty treatment, as it were; the queen thus embodies attractiveness or even erotic seduction to which even the lion seems to succumb[56].

Lions in Egypt are also thematised in *De nat. anim.* XII 7. The city of Leontopolis, where they enjoyed a special status, was named after them. Through the reference to Helios and Hephaestus, their connection to the divine sphere is accentuated again. Mougin (2011: 42) has argued: "Sachant que le culte du lion semble être assez récent (autour de la XXVI^{e} dynastie, env. 670 av. J.-C.), si les informations d'Elien sont exactes, elles sont alors le reflet de pratiques cultuelles en vigueur en son temps". After a critical analysis of *De nat. anim.* XII 7, she concludes that Aelian contributes some valuable information on the cult of lions; nevertheless she cautions that "[c]ependant, les informations de la part des Égyptiens eux-mêmes font défaut et le manque de données archéologiques rappelle que sur de nombreux points, seules des hypothèses sont possibles" (Mougin 2011: 49).

Other stories incorporated by Aelian mention lions living on Mount Pangaeus in Thrace (III 21, taken from the fourth-century BC author Eudemus of Rhodes), which had already been mentioned as the habitat of lions by Xenophon (*Cyn.* 11, 1; see above). Far less specific is the reference to a desert (VII 20, taken from Juba, king of Mauretania and author of ethnographic studies about Assyria, Arabia and Africa as well as works on other themes, including the natural sciences). The famous Androcles story (VII 44) begins in a desert in Libya, and the

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[54] See also Smith 2014: 226: "Aelian catalogues these figures from the past because of their penchant for harnessing the animal power of lions as part of the visual repertoire of their own kingly power. What better way to project the persona of a powerful ruler than to dine at table with lions or to be seen being caressed and licked by the king of beasts?" On the Carthaginian general Hanno and his lion, see the critical assessment in Plin. *Nat. hist.* VIII 55: "primus autem hominum leonem manu tractare ausus et ostendere mansuefactum Hanno e clarissimis Poenorum traditur; damnatusque illo argumento, quoniam nihil non persuasurus vir tam artificis ingenii videbatur et male credi libertas ei, cui in tantum cessisset etiam feritas".

[55] Cassius Dio, *Hist.* LXIX 7, 2: [...] τοῦ λέοντος, ὃν καὶ Ἀκινάκην ὠνόμαζε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζον ὁμόκλινόν τε ἐποιεῖτο [...]. ἔτρεφε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλους λέοντας πολλούς, καὶ ἀεί τινας περὶ αὑτὸν εἶχεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις κατεφίλει. On Caracalla and lions, see also Jennison 1937: 89–90; Usener 1994b: 74–75.

[56] This has been convincingly argued by Prioux, Trinquier 2015: 40–48, esp. 45–46.

lion is explicitly called "Libyan" (ὁ Λίβυς ἐκεῖνος λέων). The reports on very large and bold lions extirpating a tribe called the Nomaei are also to be located in Libya (XVII 27 and 39).

Aelian's horizon encompasses not only the Mediterranean world, but also other areas such as Africa and India. However, in most cases it is difficult to connect his information to a specific period of time. Many of his sources are authors who lived centuries before him. Moreover, several of his chapters on lions are so superficial and vague that it is problematic to develop a coherent and sufficiently precise picture of their geographical occurrence.

7. LIVY, MARTIAL AND STATIUS

Apart from sources concerning the natural habitat of lions, there are several literary documents on their occurrence in the Roman world, especially in the capital. In most cases, these testimonies are to be seen in the context of beast shows, e.g. in the circus[57], but on several occasions they also reveal something about the origin of lions.

In the above discussion, reference has already been made to a key passage in Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia* dealing with a public lion fight organised by the aedile Quintus Mucius Scaevola and with lion shows put on by Sulla, Pompey and Caesar (*Nat. hist.* VIII 53; quoted above). A passage in Seneca's *De brevitate vitae* reveals that the lions used for Sulla's exhibition had been sent by King Bocchus of Mauretania (*De brev.* 13, 6). However, the earliest recorded beast shows in Rome are reported by **Livy** who mentions that Marcus Fulvius Nobilior staged a lion and panther hunt ("venatio data leonum et pantherarum") in conjunction with competitive athletics. All this happened in 186 BC, in the context of the games that Marcus Fulvius Nobilior had vowed during the Aetolian War (Liv. XXXIX 22, 1–2). Less than two decades later, in 169 BC, the curule aediles Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Publius Lentulus were in charge of games in the arena which involved the participation of sixty-three large cats ("sexaginta tres Africanas")[58] and of forty bears and elephants (Liv. XLIV 18, 8). Interestingly, Pliny the Elder mentions an old senate decree prohibiting the transport of African animals (*Africanas*) into Italy, but this was repealed by

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[57] A comprehensive list of secondary literature on spectacles and games in antiquity, including the role of animals, can be found in Fögen 2017: 469–470. A good starting-point is provided by Jennison 1937; Toynbee 1973: esp. 16–23; Giebel 2003: 184–197; Kalof 2007: 27–34; Shelton 2014: esp. 466–475; see also Stamatiou, Weckwerth 2010: 265–268, with a particular focus on lions.

[58] Georges (1995: vol. I, 239) determines the meaning of *Africanae* (scil. *bestiae*) as "afrikanische wilde Tiere = Panther, Löwen, Leoparden u. Tiger [...], bes. gebraucht in den öffentl. Tierhetzen der *ludi circenses*, Cic., Liv. u.a." and refers to Varro, *De ling. Lat.* VII 40: "Si ab Libya dictae essent Lucae, fortasse an pantherae quoque et leones non Africae bestiae dicerentur, sed Lucae". See also Jennison 1937: 45–46, 63–64.

a resolution put forward by Gnaeus Aufidius as *tribunus plebis*, presumably in 170 BC, for the sake of their importation for circus games (*Nat. hist.* VIII 64).

In the early Empire it is **Martial** who has the most to say on lions in the public context of the arena. They are the topic of several epigrams in his *Liber spectaculorum*, and also in the rest of the collection[59]. For reasons of space, the discussion will have to be restricted to a few examples[60]. A particularly thought-provoking text is *De spect.* 12 (10) (transl. by D.R. Shackleton Bailey):

> Laeserat ingrato leo perfidus ore magistrum,
> ausus tam notas contemerare manus;
> sed dignas tanto persolvit crimine poenas,
> et qui non tulerat verbera, tela tulit.
> quos decet esse hominum tali sub principe mores,
> qui iubet ingenium mitius esse feris!
>
> A treacherous lion had harmed his master with his ingrate mouth, daring to violate the hands he knew so well; but he paid a fitting penalty for such a crime, and suffered weapons who had not suffered stripes. What should be the manners of men under such a prince, who commands wild beasts to be of milder nature?

The setting of this epigram is the arena where a lion had wounded its "master", presumably during a performance in which the animal had to show various tricks – with the keeper putting his hands into the lion's jaws without being injured[61]. The word *magister* is used here and elsewhere for the trainer of animals. For example, in the introductory line of epigram XI 69 on Dexter's dog Lydia, Martial speaks of "amphitheatrales [...] magistros" (XI 69, 1). In this poem, the lion had ignored the whiplashes (4: "qui non tulerat verbera") and was therefore killed by spears (4: "tela tulit"), visualised by the powerful alliteration "**t**ulera**t** [...], **t**ela **t**uli**t**", which is further enhanced by the chiastic syntax, the direct juxtaposition of the two neuter substantives and the polyptoton of *tulerat* and *tulit*.

The conclusion to this story, narrated in the first two distichs, is presented in the final distich[62]: "the emperor's subjects are bound to co-operate with a ruler who can impose will even upon wild animals" (Coleman 2006: 112). The story about the lion gone wild is thus turned into a short panegyric which employs

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[59] Specifically on Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum*, see the commentary by Coleman 2006 and the most recent overview by Leary 2019: esp. 506–509. On Martial more generally, there are countless studies now. Among the more recent introductions to the author, Holzberg 2012 and L. Watson, P. Watson 2015 deserve to be singled out here; see also Barié, Schindler 2013: 1089–1145.

[60] In addition to the poems from the *Liber spectaculorum* treated here, lions occur in *De spect.* 21, 3 (18, 3); 26, 11 (23, 5); and 32, 3 (27, 3).

[61] This trick is also referred to in Martial II 75, 2: "insertamque pati blandus in ora manum".

[62] On the typical pattern of the description of an incident followed by a comment, as employed by Martial and other epigrammatists, see Coleman 2006: 113.

the topos that efficient government has power over nature and is able to restrain even the savagery of wild beasts such as lions. The savagery of the animal is highlighted through the words *laeserat* (1), *contemerare* (2) and *crimine* (3)[63], as well as more generally in the final line through *feris* (6), contrasted with *mitius*. The lion's behaviour is evaluated through the expressions *ingrato ore* and *leo perfidus* in the very first line which sets the tone for the entire poem. The ablative *ingrato ore* (1) and the participle *ausus* (2) imply that the lion's conduct was crossing the borderline of what was expected. These words attribute rationality and even moral responsibility to the animal which it does not have. This is further specified by the noun *crimine* in the subsequent line (3) and set against the punishment it had to pay (3: "dignas [...] persolvit [...] poenas"). The gloomy sound effect of this verse is achieved through the combination of alliteration and the dominance of the vowel /o/ ("tanto **p**ersolvit [...] **p**oenas").

To *De spect.* 12 (10) one may compare Martial's epigram II 75 which describes how a previously tame lion attacked and killed two slave boys carrying out work in the arena. The highly rhetorical poem contains a reference to Libya as the typical origin of lions and underscores the completely unexpected savagery of the animal by using morally connoted terms, which are reminiscent of *De spect.* 12 (10)[64]. The final lines even recommend the Roman she-wolf who fostered Romulus and Remus as a model of gentle and merciful behaviour on the part of an animal. One may debate whether the decidedly emotional tone and somewhat baroque style of the poem could suggest an ironic or humorous reading of the text. In particular the allusion to the mythical *lupa*, expressed in the form of direct speech which sounds like a vigorous appeal to the lion, may justify such an interpretation, but the overall theme of gruesome death probably speaks against it[65].

In *De spect.* 17 (15), Carpophorus, the powerful hunter of wild beasts (*bestiarius*), also mentioned in *De spect.* 26 (23) and 32 (27), is said to have killed particularly large and impressive animals such as a bear, a panther and a lion. The latter is characterised as a creature "of unprecedented size, a sight to behold that would have done honour to Hercules' hands" (*De spect.* 17, 5–6: "ignota spectandum mole leonem, | Herculeas potuit qui decuisse manus"). The link to myth, established through the implicit reference to Hercules' killing of the Nemean lion, serves not only to enhance the impressive achievements of the beast-fighter, but also to emphasise the exceptional shape and dimension of the animal, which would have amazed and thrilled the audience of the arena. However, as can be gathered from *De spect.* 8 (6b), a similar form of praise, also referring back to Hercules, is presented for a female fighter. Unlike in Carpophorus' case,

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[63] The verb *contemerare* is rare. It is also used by Ovid in *Am.* II 7, 17–18 ("sollers ornare Cypassis | obicitur dominae contemerasse torum") and by Rufinus of Aquileia, *Hist. eccl.* V 28, 15.

[64] See the brief remarks by Scourfield 1990: 6–7.

[65] For a fuller analysis of Mart. II 75, see Williams 2004: 235–238.

a specific name is not provided; the testimonial is kept very general and impersonal (*De spect.* 8, 4: "haec iam **feminea** vidimus acta **manu**")[66].

No less astonishing are instances of complete and unusual tameness among beasts of prey, as represented by the lion portrayed in epigram IX 71, whose origin is defined as the North African region of Massylia[67]. This animal shares a cage with a ram and even eats the same food. The uncommon relationship between the two is encapsulated through the substantive *fides*, referring to mutual trust and sincerity (IX 71, 2: "mirum qua coiere fide"). Such a bond is particularly fascinating from the human perspective because it seems to contradict nature[68]. Such bewildering and almost paradoxical accounts lent themselves very well to narratives about animals for which there evidently was a receptive audience in antiquity[69]. At the same time, they recall the Golden Age – a connection that endows epigram IX 71 with potential political connotations regarding the reign of the emperor Domitian.

The evidence from Martial considered here could, of course, be supplemented with additional texts such as the so-called lion-hare cycle (Martial I 6, 14, 22, 48, 51, 60 and 104). However, from the above material it emerges sufficiently clearly that lions in the context of the arena are part of a complex discourse on political power and territorial expansion. From the first century AD onwards, the Roman empire comprises not only the entire Mediterranean world, but also hitherto unknown and exotic areas. By bringing a variety of objects, including animals and humans, to the centre of such a gigantic realm and by showing them to a sizeable portion of the population, Rome's domination and control over large parts of the world becomes easily visible. Lions are among those animals that have a symbolic value which can be readily instrumentalised for such purposes[70].

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[66] On *De spect.* 8 (6b), see Coleman 2006: 78–81.

[67] At the beginning of Mart. VIII 53 (55), Massylia is also mentioned as the almost proverbial area of origin of lions in North Africa. For a detailed treatment of this poem, see Schöffel 2002: 454–464; specifically on Massylia: p. 456.

[68] Henriksén (2012: 295) pointedly speaks of "an *adynaton* actually happening" and refers to Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* as its immediate model (esp. *Ecl.* 4, 21–22: "ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae | ubera, nec magnos metuent armenta leones").

[69] Needless to say, this is not a phenomenon restricted to Graeco-Roman antiquity. Such stories are still very popular in the modern world. See e.g. Hagenbeck 1942: 118–119, 174–176; Gebbing 1957: 120–121; Schneider 1957: 201–204; Haikal 2006: 43–45, 163–165, 176.

[70] See also Shelton 2014: 466, 469–470; Gauly 2020: 180: "Für die römische Naturgeschichte war die Kenntnis wilder Großtiere in erster Linie mit der Arena verbunden; hier wurde dem Publikum demonstriert, wie weit sich Roms Macht in exotische Länder ausgedehnt hatte und wie gut sie in der Lage war, selbst wildeste Kreaturen unter Kontrolle zu bringen und zu halten". Further Lovatt 2016: 367: "The emperor pervades the cosmos, making the spectacle reality, not just a show. Flavian spectacle in Martial is imperial spectacle: produced and created by the emperor, praising the emperor, putting the emperor on display".

The Roman arena is still the background for a rather exceptional poem by **Statius**, dealing with a tame lion who died during a performance in the amphitheatre, as a result of being attacked by another animal whose identity remains unclear (*Silv.* II 5)[71]. This text, consisting of thirty hexametric verses, is primarily presented in the second person and addressed to the deceased lion, who is sympathetically characterised as a creature that has cast off its savage nature. Its death is categorised both as a huge loss and a paradox: the taming as a transgression of natural boundaries, aimed at astonishment as well as admiration among the audience of the theatre, ultimately leads to the animal's destruction and hence a tragic outcome. The poem is to be seen as a combination of a lament and a consolation. Pathos and the evocation of pity are its prominent element, as can be seen, for example, from the image of the empty, almost personified cage of the lion (II 5, 11–12: "stat cardine aperto | infelix cavea") and from its anthropomorphisation, accomplished through its comparison to a wounded soldier and a fallen gladiator (II 5, 17–27). The political dimension of this poem is apparent from the emperor Domitian's presence; he showed his compassion for the deceased animal that enjoyed a very special status among others (II 5, 27–30)[72].

8. CONCLUSIONS

This contribution has offered a selective, but nonetheless sufficiently representative overview of the Greek and Roman literary sources on the occurrence of lions in the ancient world, with a particular focus on the Greek territory. It has become obvious that it is difficult to reconstruct a fully reliable picture of things, based upon textual evidence. Certain genres or text types contain more detailed information than others, in particular scientific treatises such as Aristotle's. The regions mentioned in those sources encompass North Africa, Egypt, Aethiopia, Palaestine, the Middle East including Arabia, Bactria, Persia and India, but up to a certain period free-roaming lions could also be found in certain parts of ancient Greece. It can be assumed that they vanished from the European continent around the first century AD, presumably because of human influence, but perhaps also because of climate and habitat change. For Greece, this is attested by Dio Chrysostom in his speech *Περὶ κάλλους* ("On beauty"), likely to have been written soon after AD 68[73]. Lewis

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[71] For a recent interpretation of this poem and detailed references to secondary literature, see Fögen 2018: 148–150. See also Jennison 1937: 79–81.

[72] See Coleman 2012: 15: "Clearly, this lion was a favorite among the spectators, presumably a familiar 'turn'. [...] Famous this lion certainly was, and yet anonymous: a 'star' without a name". Further Lindberg (2019: 259): "An emperor could presumably win popularity by incorporating such star beasts into his shows. He could also lend or give away beasts from his *vivaria*, tying himself into the network of reciprocal favours that was such an important source of animals for lesser game-givers".

[73] See Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 21, 1: Ἦ δεινὸν λέγεις, εἰ ὥσπερ φυτόν τι ἢ ζῷον ἐκλελοίπασι τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ καλοί, οἷον δή φασι τοὺς λέοντας παθεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι αὐτῶν

and Llewellyn-Jones (2018: 322) are therefore right to say that "[t]he lion's story in classical antiquity is one of gradual disappearance".

Ideally, the literary evidence needs to be supplemented with zooarchaeological testimonies, in particular bone and fossil finds, although their heuristic value is to some extent limited[74]. In this framework, only a very succinct overview can be offered. While there are several osteological finds from the Late Bronze Age for areas such as Tiryns, Kea, Troy, Kastanas (Macedonia) and Kalapodi (Boeotia), the evidence for the archaic and classical periods is very scanty. The first lion bone on Greek territory, a heelbone buried together with human skeletons, was not found until 1978 during the excavations of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Tiryns in the Peloponnese and is to be dated to the period around 1230 BC. Thereafter, a few additional lion bones were discovered in the same area, the most recent of which seems to belong to the period after 1200 BC. Given that they are all shattered and show the same butchering marks as the waste of cattle, sheep, goats and pigs, with which they were found, it is possible to argue that lions still belonged to the animals hunted by the Mycenaeans who lived in the Argolis during the Late Bronze Age[75]. It is thus likely that human hunting activities contributed to the gradual disappearance of lions from Greece during the first millennium BC.

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εἶναι τὸ γένος· πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν καὶ περὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις· εἰ οὕτως οἴχεται δὴ κάλλος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. On this passage, see also Usener (1994a: 24): "Hier liegt der erste und älteste Beleg für das Fehlen des Löwen in der griechischen Fauna vor". For an earlier assessment, see Meyer 1903: 70.

[74] See the reservations formulated by Usener 1994a: 12–13.

[75] See in particular von den Driesch 1994: esp. 12–14. For further details and references, see Nobis 2001; von Hofsten 2007: 32; Seyer 2007: 82–83; Monbrun 2011: 360–361; Sidiropoulos, Polymeni, Legakis 2016: 141–142; Zenzen 2018: 18–19.

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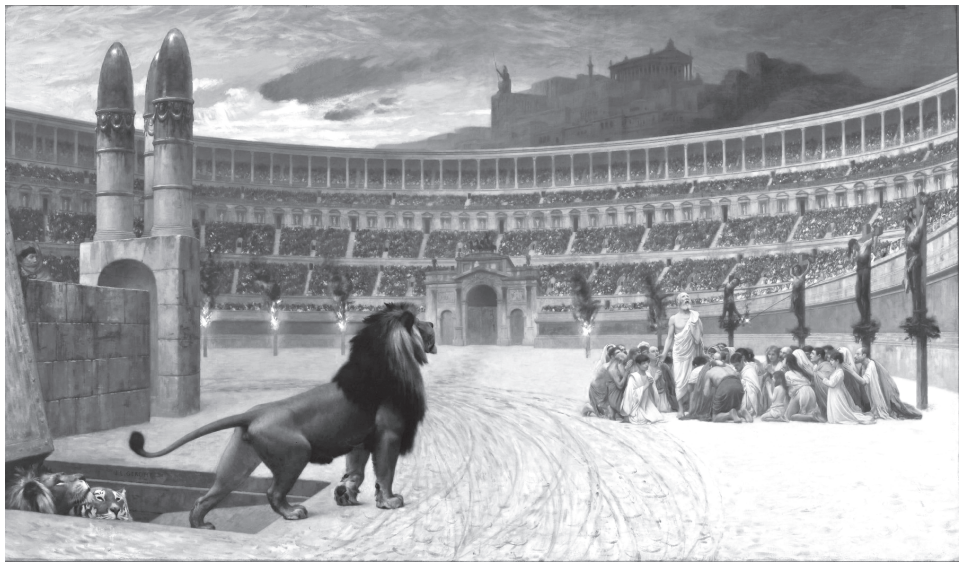

Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904): *La dernière prière des martyrs chrétiens* (1863–1883)
Oil on canvas (87.9 x 150.1 cm), Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, US

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A NEW HYPOTHESIS ON ARISTOXENUS' WORKS AND THE BIRTH OF THE LEGEND OF EPAMINONDAS

by

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ABSTRACT: Nep. *Epam.* 2, 1–2, a list of Epaminondas' teachers, offers information derived from a lost work by Aristoxenus, who may have written a *Life of Epaminondas*. The hypothesis rests on a comparison with the extant biographical materials on Aristoxenus and with the earliest reception of Epaminondas' musical and philosophical education. Besides, I contend that Aristoxenus is a reliable source for the early years of Epaminondas' life and, as such, the tradition that is based on Aristoxenus should be trusted in the reconstruction of Epaminondas' early years.

1. INTRODUCTION

The loss of Plutarch's *Life of Epaminondas* will never be mourned enough[1]. The only extant biography of the man, by Cornelius Nepos, was variously expanded through the anecdotes mentioned by Plutarch in his other writings and by other classical sources, in the first place Polyaenus and Frontinus[2].

The modern scholar relying on Nepos needs to judge the value of this biography by means of all the surviving sources on the Theban general[3]. None of these other authors provide us with a biography, but we know today that the modern opposition between historiography and biography may be ill-founded when ancient biographies are valued for their own materials and methodology[4]. This continuity is shown by the picture of Epaminondas as a philosopher, which is a frequent trait in the extant purely historiographical sources[5]. Diodorus in

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[1] On this lost biography, cf. Shrimpton 1971a; Tuplin 1984; Georgiadou 1997: 6–8; Frakes 2017.

[2] On the use of Epaminondas as an aristocratic model, see Carrasco Martínez 2018.

[3] After Swoboda 1900, the only modern studies on Epaminondas are Carrata Thomes 1952, Fortina 1958 and Tufano 2023.

[4] Cf. Diod. X 11, 2 for a synthetic picture of Epaminondas' Pythagoreanism. See at least, with further scholarship, Schepens 2007 and Schorn 2018: 431–445.

[5] Sources and commentary in Sordi 1974; Breglia 2011; an overview on the sources in Tufano 2023: 15–19. On Ephorus and his emphasis on the education of Epaminondas, cf. Momigliano 1935 and Stylianou 1998: 10–11.

particular cannot be underestimated: his stress on Epaminondas' Pythagoric upbringing (X 11, 2) draws on a profound knowledge of fourth century historians, such as Ephorus[6].

Ephorus (*BNJ* 70 F 119) associated the success of Thebes with Epaminondas' exploits. He was preceded in this assessment by the fourth century philosopher Alcidamas of Elaea (F 11 Avezzù). This philosopher, according to Aristotle (*Rhet.* II 1398b, 16–19), claimed that Thebes reached its zenith when the philosophers gained power[7]. To this, one should add the witnesses of Alcidamas' *Messenian Speech* (FF 3–4 Avezzù), which celebrated Epaminondas' liberation of the Messenians in 369 BCE. Although now disregarded as a powerful rhetorical construction from the fourth century, this picture became part of the eulogistic picture of Epaminondas from an early stage on, according to the epigram written under his statue on the Theban acropolis in the late sixties[8]. Beside Ephorus and the earlier Alcidamas, one could add Callisthenes, who was also a fervent admirer of Epaminondas and was used by Plutarch in his *Pelopidas*[9].

These names are possibly only a selection of the sources which, from the fourth century BCE on, built what later became the standard version of Epaminondas' life. But who wrote the first *Life of Epameinondas*? A closer analysis of a section of Nepos' biography may provide hints towards a possible answer.

2. THE TEACHERS: NEPOS AND ARISTOXENUS

Nepos' biography differs so much from other standard biographies that Leo observed that this work is better described as a *Praise* (ἐγκώμιον) *of Epaminondas*: the text resembles what is considered a fundamental step in the evolution of Greek biography, namely Isocrates' *Euagoras*[10]. The exaltation of Epaminondas is exceptionally rich in the first section of this biography. Here Epaminondas' musical talent is particularly stressed:

> Natus ergo patre, quo diximus, genere honesto, pauper iam a maioribus relictus, eruditus autem sic ut nemo Thebanus magis, nam et citharizare et cantare ad

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[6] On the relationship between Ephorus and Diodorus for this specific judgement, see Stylianou 1998: 10–11.

[7] The attribution of these lines to Alcidamas in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is disputed by Kassel (1976: 131) and these doubts are not isolated (see Mojsik 2015: 299–300).

[8] On the Messenians' self-representation and their ethnicity, see Luraghi 2008. The epigram had a rich textual tradition; the main witness is Paus. IX 15, 6. See the commentary by Zizza 2006: 344–349 and the observations in Tufano 2023: 25–29.

[9] On Callisthenes as the main, but not necessarily the only, source of Plutarch's *Pelopidas*, see Fuscagni 1975 and Georgiadou 1997: 15–24.

[10] Leo 1901: 207–211. For a recent reassessment of Nepos' biography, see Stem 2012: 121–122 and Bonaccorso 2013. On Isocrates' *Euagoras* in the history of ancient biography, see now Poulakos 2021.

> chordarum sonum doctus est a Dionysio, qui non minore fuit in musicis gloria quam Damon aut Lamprus, quorum peruulgata sunt nomina, cantare tibiis ab Olympiodoro, saltare a Calliphrone. At philosophiae praeceptorem habuit Lysim Tarentinum...
>
> Well then, he was born of the father whom I have mentioned; his family was an honourable one, but had been in poor circumstances for some time; yet in spite of that he received as good an education as any Theban. Thus he was taught to play the lyre, and to sing with an instrumental accompaniment, by Dionysius, who in the musical world was equal in reputation to Damon or Lamprus, whose names are known everywhere. He learned to play the pipes from Olympiodorus and to dance from Calliphron. In philosophy he had as his master Lysis of Tarentum...[11].

I will return later to the last name and to the picture of Epaminondas as a Pythagorean, based on this specific discipleship: this trait provoked a lively debate in the last century. One striking element is the large number of teachers mentioned by Nepos: Dionysius (lyre, singing), Olympiodorus (*aulos*), Calliphron (dance) and Lysis (philosophy). Further names were known in antiquity as teachers who had guided Epaminondas in his learning of the *auletike*: Orthagoras, first of all, a well-known name in the fourth century also mentioned by Plato (*Prot.* 318C)[12], and Pronomus. The latter was not explicitly recalled as a teacher, but there can be few doubts that he was still alive, at least in the first part of Epaminondas' lifetime, and his presence at Messene in 369, although anecdotal, is recorded by Pausanias (IV 27, 7)[13].

I mentioned Orthagoras and Pronomus and their fame outside the tradition on Epaminondas in order to comment on a singular feature of Nepos' list of teachers. His observation on the qualities of Dionysius is remarkable, since it looks as if he needed introducing (and Damon and Lamprus were actually better-known figures)[14]. Dionysius of Thebes is only mentioned once more, in the extant sources, by the author of the pseudo-Plutarchean *On Music*, who comments on musical *ethos* and mentions Dionysius ([Plut.] *De mus.* 1142 B–C). This information is explicitly attributed to Aristoxenus of Tarentum (F 76 Wehrli), who was widely known for his belief in the cathartic effects of music, linked with the doctrine of musical *ethos*[15].

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[11] Nep. *Epam.* 2, 1–2 (text after Marshall 1985); transl. by J.C. Rolfe, slightly modified.

[12] Orthagoras as a teacher of Epaminondas: Aristox. F 96 Wehrli, on which see *infra.*

[13] Despite the doubts raised by Breglia 2011: 11, n. 2, see Tentori Montalto (2009: 157–158) and Wilson (2010: 194–196) on the possibility that Pronomus was still alive in the early sixties; on the musical education of Epaminondas, see Tufano 2023: 29–33.

[14] On Damon and Lamprus, see Brancacci 2001; on Damon in particular, and his political and musical qualities, see Mosconi 2023.

[15] Cf. Aristox. F 26 Wehrli and the commentary by Spittler 2016 on *FGrH Continued* IV 1672, 40, the source of Aristox. F 96 Wehrli, with Provenza 2012 and 2022: 10–12.

In this context, Aristoxenus does not mention Epaminondas, but this character certainly figured in his works. In one fragment, a long history of the Pythagoreans (F 18 Wehrli), Epaminondas is credited with having attended the lectures given by Lysis after this philosopher came to Greece[16]. As anticipated, this specific discipleship was almost a topos in the depiction of Epaminondas as a young man: one can recall Plutarch's *On the Daimonion of Socrates*, which opens with a picture of a pious Epaminondas caring for the corpse of his deceased teacher.

In another fragment transmitted by Athenaeus (IV 184D), Aristoxenus was quoted as the source for the names of two of Epaminondas' teachers, namely Orthagoras and Olympiodorus. Since these men are explicitly assigned the title of teachers of pipe-playing by Athenaeus, Wehrli's suggestion that the fragment (F 96 Wehrli) comes from Aristoxenus' *On the Musical Instruments* may be accepted, even though we cannot rule out the possibility that Athenaeus read this in an intermediate source on the history of teaching pipe-playing[17].

Aristoxenus therefore knew at least three teachers who educated Epaminondas in the field of music (Dionysius, Olympiodorus and Orthagoras). Two of these three names return in Nepos' list of teachers. Yet, the final name (Calliphron), credited for teaching Epaminondas how to dance, is not mentioned anywhere else.

In 2011, Luisa Breglia suggested that Nepos knew Aristoxenus, on the grounds of the Pythagoric picture of Epaminondas and of the name of the father, Polymnis, which repeatedly returns in Pausanias (IX 12, 6). The scholar claimed that Aristoxenus was possibly responsible for the change in the speaking name *Polymnis* from the original *Polemmeis*, preserved by an epigraphical text[18]. Besides, Nepos' closeness to Plutarch's *Pelopidas* (i.e., to the good sources of Plutarch) would imply that Nepos relied on early sources for his picture of Epaminondas.

On the basis of the original list of teachers preserved by Nepos, something more may be inferred about the impact of Aristoxenus on the formation of the picture of Epaminondas as a cultivated and philosophical man: if the picture suggested so far is accepted, one should add Nep. *Epam.* 2, 1–2 to the materials drawing from Aristoxenus.

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[16] This information is commonly assigned to Aristoxenus' *Life of Pythagoras,* although the main source (Iamblichus) is not explicit on the title of the work. On Aristoxenus and the history of ancient Pythagoreanism, there is a huge amount of scholarship: see as starting points Huffman 2012b and Zhmud 2012. Lysis of Tarentum as a teacher of Epameinondas: Cic. *De orat.* III 139 and *De off.* I 155; Diod. X 11, 2; Nep. *Epam.* 2, 2; Paus. IX 13, 1; Plut. *Gen. Socr.* (*passim*); Diog. Laert. VIII 7; Ael. *VH* III 17; Porph. *Vita Pyth.* 55. On the relationship between Lysis and Epaminondas, see Cordano 2018.

[17] Aristoxenus wrote both *On Flutes* and *On Flute Players* (F 100 Wehrli), but further works can be posited between this production and the age of Plutarch (see Braccini 1999: 165–166).

[18] *SEG* XLIV 901 (Blümel 1994); *BE* 1996, n. 28. See Knoepfler 2007.

Even though no witness claims that Aristoxenus wrote a biography of Epaminondas, the large number of titles (more than 450!) assigned by the *Suda* to Aristoxenus suggests that further titles have not been transmitted[19]. More importantly, for his *Life of Socrates*, Aristoxenus explicitly drew on oral sources[20], among whom was his own father Spintharus, also known as Mnesias, after a Pythagorean distortion of this personal name[21].

3. ARISTOXENUS AND EPAMINONDAS

Aristoxenus' father was in Thebes in the early decades of the fourth century BCE, according to two passages which record Spintharus' contention that music could heal[22]. In his seminal study on Aristoxenus, Amedeo Visconti (1999: 35–73) observed that these materials cannot prove Aristoxenus' presence in Thebes, whereas it remains certain that his father was here. Actually, according to Plutarch Spintharus was at Epaminondas' home, a house which was particularly keen on hosting philosophers, if we consider the presence of Lysis as a teacher of Epaminondas. It is therefore highly likely that any observation on Epaminondas and on his musical education finally came to Aristoxenus through this specific and related source.

Aristoxenus was born in the second half of the seventies[23]. Thence there is little possibility that he ever met Epaminondas in person, even if we were to anticipate his journey from Tarentum to Greece at a very early date. Yet, his father Spintharus was in Thebes (before or after the birth of his son?) and he must have heard in town about these possibly local teachers, such as Dionysius and Calliphron.

The biographical method of Aristoxenus of Tarentum made ample use of contemporary eyewitnesses, as is carefully shown by Schorn in a contribution which also demonstrated the high standards of Aristoxenus in what we would call the "historiographical" world[24]. The investigation of Aristoxenus' life of

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[19] *Suid.* α 3927 s.v. Ἀριστόξενος = F 1 Wehrli. An overview of the extant titles in Visconti 1999: 25–29 and Wehrli, Wöhrle, Zhmud 2004: 577–580.

[20] *Life of Socrates*: FF 51–60 Wehrli (see on this life Stavru 2018). Spintharus as an oral source: F 54a Wehrli, on which see Schorn 2018: 133–134; cf. F 30 = 49 Wehrli (Spintharus on Archytas. This is Archytas F 7A Huffman).

[21] For this hypothesis, see Visconti 1996: 36–63.

[22] Plut. *Gen. Socr.* 592F and *De recta audiendi ratione* 39B. On these passages, see Breglia 2011: 13.

[23] The main modern biographical sketches of Aristoxenus are Wehrli 1967: 47–49; Visconti 1999: 11–25; and Wehrli, Wöhrle, Zhmud 2004: 576. See Cordiano 2001 for an overview of the scholarship on the place of Aristoxenus in the Lycaeum.

[24] Schorn 2012 = Schorn 2018: 107–147 (I exclusively quote from this reprint, since it adds authorial interventions).

Socrates allowed Schorn to demonstrate his continuity with other contemporaries who tried to contrast or at least to enrich the picture of Socrates, as this was being popularised by Plato.

The investigation on the other extant biographical fragments is more difficult for different reasons: the fragments on Plato are shorter and less clear[25]; the only piece from his *Life of Telestes* (F 117 Wehrli) is highly selective and recalls the case of the man healed by music in Thebes, which was mentioned earlier.

A closer parallel comes from the extant fragments of Aristoxenus' *Life of Archytas*, devoted to the philosopher who ruled Tarentum between 367 and 361 BCE[26]. A long fragment transmitted by Athenaeus recalls an embassy to Archytas on behalf of the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius the Younger[27]. A speech by the ambassador Polyarchus, partially preserved in its direct form, insists on the necessity of having luxury goods in order to pursue one's happiness. This directly contrasts with the serious and self-contained temper of Archytas. The anecdote has been variously interpreted, especially since Zecchini (1988) highlighted its value with regard to the ancient evolution of the theory of the *translatio imperii.* The historicity of the encounter, however, remains open, although it seems to me that one has to insist on the fact that, just like with Plato, Aristoxenus was dealing here with living men[28]. How likely was he to invent completely fabricated information about them?

In general, scholars since von Mess (1916) have claimed that Aristoxenus is not likely to have indulged in legendary tropes in this biography. After Schorn's rebuttal of the allegation that Aristoxenus was biased against Socrates, it should now be clear that his ability as a biographer should at least be redeemed and seen from another perspective.

The difference between his *Life of Pythagoras* and the other figures of whom we explicitly know that he wrote a biography (Plato, Socrates, Archytas, Telestes) lies in the chronological distance and in the available sources. If one accepts that this extremely erudite biographer, praised by Suetonius among others, tried to benefit from all the available witnesses, it becomes likely that his goals were possibly similar, as outlined by Schorn, to those of a local historian[29]. Local historiographers were not outwardly committed to opposing their colleagues who

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[25] *Life of Plato*: FF 61–68 Wehrli; see Dillon 2012 and Schorn 2018: 142–144.

[26] Aristox. FF 47–50 Wehrli. On Archytas, see Huffmann 2005.

[27] Aristox. F 50 Wehrli = Athen. XII 545A–546B.

[28] Before Schorn 2012, Muccioli (1999: 220–221) also defended the reliability of Aristoxenus as a witness of his own times.

[29] The praise by Suetonius is probably behind the definition of Aristoxenus as "longe omnium doctissimus" by Jerome (*De viris illustribus* 1–2), as observed by Schorn (2018: 111–113). The parallel with local historiography is in Schorn 2018: 432; cf. the observation by Thomas (2019: 406) on Aristoxenus' "complex mixture of cultural Hellenism, loss, nostalgia and pride" in F 124 Wehrli on Tarentum.

had written universal or Panhellenic histories. Their goal was simply to collect materials not otherwise transmitted, or possibly of higher value to local audiences where the local historians travelled to[30].

The link between Aristoxenus and Nepos in the names of Epaminondas' teachers must be understood in the light of the qualities of the former as an avid investigator of contemporary history, as well as in the field of music, in which he remained a major authority in antiquity. One need not necessarily think that Nepos preserves material already and *exclusively* present in works by Aristoxenus because Nepos knew only Aristoxenus: I suggest here that Aristoxenus was soon an authoritative voice on Epaminondas, either because he wrote a biography on this man[31], or because, in his musical writings as well as in other works (such as the *Historika hypomnemata*), he delivered a rounded and rich portrait of Epaminondas[32].

This portrait certainly insisted on Epaminondas' extensive musical education, which may have been a common feature of many Thebans of his age, given the fame of Theban pipe players in the early fourth century[33]. Aristoxenus, however, had additional sources on Epaminondas, about whom he had definitely heard through his father Spintharus, whose stay in Thebes should not be doubted.

4. CONCLUSIONS: EPAMINONDAS BETWEEN LEGEND AND FOUNDED FAME

I conclude with an additional hypothesis, inspired by the previous focus on the singular *Life of Pythagoras* written by Aristoxenus. Burkert (1972: 277–298) wrote that any knowledge of this philosopher in the early fourth century BCE was at best superficial: we still lack a consensual picture on the biography of Pythagoras and the very reconstruction of Aristoxenus' picture of Pythagoras, as analysed in later years, remains a tricky field, since it is hard to isolate the impact of Aristoxenus in this tradition[34]. Brisson (2007) went even further by observing how much Aristoxenus exerted a lasting influence on our perception of

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[30] On local historiography and the nuanced, not necessarily passive, relationship with local audiences, see most recently Tober 2017; Thomas 2019: 29–73; Tufano 2019: 97–102.

[31] In a much-debated fragment (F 10a Wehrli, on which see Schorn 2018: 113–126), Plutarch recalls the historiographical value of Aristoxenus' βίοι ἀνδρῶν. The generic plural may suit a number higher than the five characters on which we know for certain that Aristoxenus worked (Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Archytas and Telestes).

[32] I accept Braccini's cautiousness (Braccini 1999: 165, n. 19) that this biography cannot be the sole hypothesis on which to base the impact of Aristoxenus' information on Epaminondas in later literature. Yet, it seems to me that Aristoxenus' picture of Epaminondas "als idealer πολιτικὸς φιλόσοφος" (Gigon 1945: 200) must have rested on a solid basis.

[33] On this fame, see the survey by Berlinzani 2004.

[34] Cf. Brisson 2007 and Zhmud 2012.

Plato as being influenced by Pythagoras. The responsibilities are here Aristotle's as well as Aristoxenus', but I contend that a biography of Pythagoras must have looked very different to the works on Plato and on Socrates.

The common picture of the Pythagoreans in the fourth century BCE was actually quite vague. The community, which had a famous abode in Thebes, seems to have limited themselves to a strict number of precepts[35]. This evolution contradicts the famous hypothesis by Vidal-Naquet and Lévêque, according to whom the oblique phalanx of Epaminondas was ultimately inspired by his rebuttal of the repute traditionally conferred in the Greek world on the right and on the left[36]. This theory has often been criticised, but the main piece against it came from John Buckler, a specialist of Theban history, who wrote: "the importance of Pythagoreanism to Epameinondas was superficial, or even cosmetic, at best. Absolutely nothing in the ancient evidence suggests that he had attained a thorough knowledge of it, hence the depiction of him as a Pythagorean philosopher is largely a modern creation" (Buckler 1993: 108).

Nonetheless, we saw at the beginning that both Alcidamas and Ephorus may endorse this picture of a cultivated statesman. Aristoxenus also claimed that Epaminondas had been an initiate of Lysis of Tarentum and we saw how important Aristoxenus must have been in the diffusion of the picture of Epaminondas as a learned politician. It is therefore possible that Aristoxenus was responsible among the first sources not only for a eulogistic picture of Epaminondas, but also for the specific image of Epaminondas as a "Pythagorean politician". Regardless of whether this philosophical expertise was as profound as modern scholars would like us to assume, we must believe that the picture of Epaminondas as a Pythagorean was born with Aristoxenus. Given the fact that he was a disciple of Aristotle and a colleague of the early Peripatetics, there are further proofs of this hypothesis.

There is no explicit mention of Epaminondas in the extant works of Aristotle, whereas an interesting confirmation of our suggestion comes from a much-debated text, the long fragment known as the *De eligendis magistratibus* (= *DEM*). This anonymous political treatise was firstly published by Aly (1935; 1943) and was soon attributed to Theophrastus; Sbordone (1948) raised doubts as to Theophrastus' authorship on the basis of linguistic criteria, but this attribution has been largely accepted. A recent study by Fizzarotti (2019) confirmed the limits of this attribution, while accepting, however, that we have to do here with a quite early stage of the Peripatetic tradition.

The political theory of the treatise is definitely close to the early stage of the Peripatus. In a fragment of the *DEM* (B l. 27), Epaminondas is mentioned after Pelopidas as a model of a successful politician who was able to make it to the

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[35] On Theban Pythagoreanism, see lastly Breglia 2011 and Cordano 2018.

[36] Vidal-Naquet, Lévêque 1960; Vidal-Naquet 1981: 115–121.

top despite his poverty. His economic limits were overcome thanks to his virtue and his moral qualities. Albeit generic, these indications show signs of a "fictionalised biography" of the man[37] and this may actually be, if we accept an early date for this treatise, the earliest surviving fragment of the biographical picture of Epaminondas[38].

I assume that Aristoxenus, as a pupil of Aristotle, was influential in the diffusion of this specific image of Epaminondas as a virtuous and moral leader. Tradition recalls a quarrel with Aristotle when Aristoxenus was not chosen to succeed in the school[39]; yet, the aforementioned text from the Peripatetic school shows that this milieu accepted and perpetuated the picture of Epaminondas which eventually influenced all the later tradition on this man, down to our biography by Nepos.

It is therefore possible that Aristoxenus of Tarentum wrote a biography of Epaminondas, or at least much more on this man than the only two extent explicit fragments indicate. Since Aristoxenus relied for his information on his father Spintharus' stay in Thebes, this tradition must have been taken seriously and widely spread from an early stage, already contemporary with Epaminondas himself. Aristoxenus may have preceded the impact of Ephorus and Callisthenes, considered in the past as the founders of "the laudatory tradition of Epameinondas"[40]. In Athens, where until the sixties the prestige of the two generals was still undetected, Aristoxenus had first access to sources which allowed a closer inspection and evaluation of a figure such as Epaminondas. The likely echo of these materials in Nep. *Epam.* 2.1–2, with its unusually rich list of the teachers of Epaminondas, may allow the modern scholar to add these chapters to the corpus of the fragments by Aristoxenus. Even if it is possible that Nepos had access to these materials through intermediate sources from the Peripatetic school, their ultimate origin lays in Aristoxenus' research focus and methods when working on the biography of his contemporaries.

These conclusions partially solve a conundrum of any modern study of the life of Epaminondas. It has been hard to detect signs of his activity before 379 BCE and we still lack a consensus on his date of birth[41]; besides, his political activity seems to have started quite late in the years of the Theban hegemony, on

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[37] Quote from Keaney, Szegedy-Maszak 1976: 236; cf. Fizzarotti 2019: 264–269.

[38] Note that, if the attribution of the *DEM* to Theoprastus were accepted, we would have an even closer association with Aristoxenus' theory of music as a healing art (cf. *supra* on FF 26 and 76 Wehrli), because Theophrastus has also been proved to adhere to this theory (Matelli 2004). See however Banfi 2021: 20–21 for a reassessment a different proposal (Demetrius of Phalerum).

[39] Aristox. F 1 Wehrli, on which see Cordiano 2001: 155-157.

[40] Shrimpton 1971b: 318. For this view, see already Schwartz 1900.

[41] Plut. *Pel.* 4, 5–6 and Paus. IX 13, 1 claim that Epaminondas participated with Pelopidas at the siege of Mantineia in 385 BCE, but the historicity of this evidence has been discussed: see, with further scholarship, Buckler 1980: 179–185; Georgiadou 1997: 80–81; Tufano 2023: 33–38.

the very eve of the battle of Leuctra, in contrast with Pelopidas, who was active as a Boeotarch in 379 and won an important victory at Tegyra in 375[42]. It is possible that Epaminondas really was a man of thought, rather than a man of action, for most of his life, before the momentous turning point of Leuctra. Aristoxenus was not only responsible for the communication of this picture, but was actually a reliable witness on the early years of Epaminondas' life.

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[42] Diod. XV 37, 1 and Plut. *Pel.* 17; see Buckler, Beck 2008: 99–110 on this battle.

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PYTHEAS OF MASSALIA AND HIS VOYAGE TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC IN THE LIGHT OF ONOMASTICS

by

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MIKOŁAJ RYCHŁO

Abstract: The aim of the paper is to review the voyage of Pytheas of Massalia in northern waters of the Atlantic Ocean, as well as to give a structural and etymological analysis of some island names which probably appeared in Pytheas' work *On the Ocean* for the first time. The Arctic Ocean was known as the "Cronian Sea; Sea of Cronos" (Gk. Κρόνιον, Lat. *Cronium*) or as the "Congealed Sea" (Gk. πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα, Lat. *mare concretum*). All the islands located north to Great Britain demonstrate names of Greek origin or with an obvious Hellenic structure (e.g. the Greek suffix -άς, pl. -άδες, hence Lat. *-ades*; the Greek ending -η, hence Lat. *-ē*). The following nesonyms of the Northern Atlantic are thoroughly discussed: the Orkneys (Gk. Ὀρκάδες, Lat. *Orcades*), the Shetlands (Gk. *Αἰμῶδαι, Lat. *Haemodae*), the Hebrides (Gk. Ἔβουδαι or Αἰβοῦδαι, Lat. *Hebudes* or *Ebudes*), the Faeroes (Gk. *Βέργοι, Lat. *Bergi*), Streymoy, the largest island of the Faeroe archipelago (Gk. *Βερρική, Lat. *Berricē*) and Iceland (Gk. Θούλη or *Θύλη, Lat. *Thulē*, *Thylē*, *Tylē*). The toponymic nomenclature of the North Atlantic used by Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder and other Roman and Greek geographers evidently derives from Pytheas' work.

Pytheas of Massalia (ca. 380–310 BC) was a Greek traveller, who made a journey to North Europe during the second half of the fourth century BC, as well as an author of sailing and chorographical diaries[1]. As many as eighteen known ancient writers mention Pytheas of Massalia by name[2], in particular

[1] See M. Cary, E.H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*, London 1929, pp. 33–40; H.J. Mette, *Pytheas von Massalia*, Berlin 1952; D. Stichtenoth, *Pytheas von Marseille: Über das Weltmeer. Die Fragmente übersetzt und erläutert*, Köln–Graz 1959; Ch. Horst Roseman, *Pytheas of Massalia: On the Ocean. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Chicago 1994; B. Cunliffe, *The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek*, London 2001; S. Magnani, *Il viaggio di Pitea sull'Oceano*, Bologna 2002; D.W. Roller, *Through the Pillars of Herakles*. *Greco-Roman Exploration of the Atlantic*, New York–London 2006; S. Bianchetti, M.R. Cataudella, H.J. Gehrke (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography: The Inhabited World in Greek and Roman Tradition*, Leiden–Boston 2016; T. Bilić, *Pytheas and Hecataeus*: *Visions of the North in the Late Fourth Century B.C.*, GRBS LX 2020, pp. 574–593; L. Scott, *Pytheas of Massalia. Texts, Translation and Commentary*, New York 2022.

[2] Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), p. 7.

Strabo and Pliny the Elder[3]. Although his most significant work *On the Ocean* (Gk. *Περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ*) has not survived as a whole to the modern times, it was frequently quoted or referred to by the ancient writers. This is one of the reasons why we believe in the reality of Pytheas' voyage[4]. Some of the ancient scholars were distrustful of Pytheas (the most famous example being Strabo, who died some 20 years before Claudius began the occupation of Britain). In the light of the present understanding of the northern Europe's geography, we can refute many of their criticisms. Strabo considers Pytheas an unbelievable falsifier, clearly proving that the Greeks, as well as the Romans, did not positively verify the Arctic data of the Massaliote traveller until the early decades of the 1st century AD. This was done only by the Romans after the conquest of Britain (43 AD) and Orcades (80 AD). There is no doubt, therefore, that the Hellenic or Greek-sounding nesonyms of the Northern Atlantic, quoted by Pomponius Mela (in his *Chorographia* published around years 43–44 AD), Pliny the Elder (died 79 AD), Tacitus (ca. 55–ca. 120), Solinus (3rd or 4th c.) and other Roman authors, must have come from Pytheas' *On the Ocean*.

Various aspects of Pytheas' voyage have been investigated by numerous scholars; for example, the exact route of his travel[5], the chronology and scope of his voyage[6], the aim of his journey[7], the location of Thule[8], the question of

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[3] Horst Roseman (*Pytheas*... [n. 1], p. 10) considers Strabo "unquestionably the single most important figure in the textual transmission of Pytheas' work", and Pliny the Elder "the most important source for citations of Pytheas after Strabo" (*ibidem*, p. 13). Also Duane W. Roller (*The Geography of Strabo. An English Translation, with Introduction and Notes*, Cambridge 2014, p. 25) emphasises that Strabo "is the primary source for the Arctic voyage of Pytheas of Massalia".

[4] As claimed by Raymond Chevallier, *The Greco-Roman Conception of the North from Pytheas to Tacitus*, Arctic XXXVII 1994, pp. 341–346, at 342, "What is no longer in doubt today is the reality of Pytheas's voyage". He continues to discuss various arguments in favour of this assumption.

[5] C. McPhail, *Pytheas of Massalia's Route of Travel*, Phoenix LVIII 2014, pp. 247–257.

[6] Cf. R. Knapowski, *Probleme der Chronologie und der Reichweite der Enteckungsreisen des Pytheas von Massalia*, Poznań 1958, with a scrupulous presentation of earlier opinions.

[7] Numerous researchers suggest a purely commercial aim of Pytheas' journey (for obtaining tin and amber), whereas others postulate research as the main scope of his voyage, cf. W. Sieglin, *Entdeckungsgeschichte von England*, in: G. Kollm (ed.), *Verhandlungen des Siebenten Internationalen Geographen-Kongresses*, vol. II, Berlin 1901, pp. 841–76, at 862; J.O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge 1948, p. 210; Knapowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 58 ("Pytheas privatim und ausschlieslich zu wissenschaftlichen Zwecken gereist sei"). Most of them doubt that Pytheas of Massalia visited northern territories as a Greek tourist, cf. J.M. Ślusarczyk, *Horyzonty geograficzne starożytnych turystów greckich*, Turystyka Kulturowa IV 2017, fasc. 4, pp. 42–58, at 50.

[8] See e.g. I. Whitaker, *The Problem of Pytheas' Thule*, CJ LXXVII 1982, pp. 148–164; Ch. Horst Roseman, *Hour Tables and Thule in Pliny's Natural History*, Centaurus XXX 1987, pp. 93–105; McPhail, *op. cit*. (n. 5), pp. 247–257; D.J. Breeze, A. Wilkins, *Pytheas, Tacitus and Thule*, Britannia XXXXIX 2018, pp. 303–308; D. Kedwards, *The Mappae Mundi of Medieval Iceland*, Cambridge 2020, pp. 127–133.

the Baltic amber[9], the analysis and interpretation of preserved fragments[10]. In our article we would like to review Pytheas' onomastic terminology devoted to the Arctic Ocean and the northernmost islands of the Atlantic, which was later repeated in the ancient (Greek and Latin) literary sources after his work *Περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ*.

1. THE ARCTIC OCEAN

Albert Lionel F. Rivet and Colin Smith discuss numerous ancient names of seas around Britain, e.g. the North Sea is named Ὠκεανὸς Γερμανικός by Ptolemy and *Mare Germanicum* by Pliny the Elder; the English Channel is called Ὠκεανὸς Πρεττανικός and *Oceanus Britanicus* by the same authors[11]. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether these names were used by Pytheas of Massalia or not. However, the Massaliote seafarer was the only Greek writer who personally saw and described the frozen sea (Gk. πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα), i.e. the Arctic Ocean, which – in his opinion – was located one day of the sailing from Iceland and about six days from the northern coast of Britain[12]. The Arctic Ocean was also called the Cronian Sea or the Sea of Cronos (by Pseudo-Agathemerus and Philemon, who described the northern Europe on the basis of Pytheas' observations). It is worth emphasising that the North Pole in the fourth century BC was located in a different place than today, thus the Arctic Circle was placed further south than today (66° N), probably ca. 62° N[13]. In fact, 62° N demonstrates the same latitude as the Faeroes[14], whereas Iceland is generally located between 63° and 66° N[15].

Sources:

1.1. Strabo of Amasea (I 4, 2): εἶτ' ἐπὶ τὸν κύκλον τὸν διὰ Θούλης – ἣν φησι Πυθέας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχειν πρὸς

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[9] See e.g. W. Schulz, *Das Bernsteinland des Pytheas und der Wanderung der Teutonen*, Forschungen und Fortschritte XXV 1949, pp. 230–232; H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. I, Warszawa 1963, pp. 127–134.

[10] See especially Mette, *op. cit*. (n. 1); Stichtenoth, *op. cit*. (n. 1); Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1); Scott, *op. cit*. (n. 1).

[11] A.L.F. Rivet, C. Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, London 1979, p. 44.

[12] Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), p. 42.

[13] Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), pp. 106–107 and 119, fig. 7.

[14] It is worth adding that the Faeroe Islands "lie between 61°21′ N and 62°24′ N, and have 19¾ hours of daylight at summer solstice", according to Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), p. 157, n. 17.

[15] Ptolemy locates Thule (i.e. Iceland) at 63° N (according to Breeze, Wilkins, *op. cit*. [n. 8], p. 306). If these data are based on Pytheas' work, then the measurement, as long as it is assumed to be correct, must have been prepared on the southern coast of the island. Note that Vík í Myrdal, the southernmost village in Iceland, is placed at 63°12′10″ N. On the other hand, Raufarhöfn, a small village in the northeastern part of Iceland, is placed at 66°27′15″ N. It should be emphasised, however, that the North Pole in the fourth century BC was located ca. 4° further south than today. If so, then the position of Thule must have been measured by Pytheas near the north coast of Iceland.

ἄρκτον, ἐγγὺς δ' εἶναι τῆς πεπηγυίας θαλάττης – "then to the parallel that runs through Thule (which Pytheas says is six days' sail north of Brettanike [i.e. Britain] and is near the Frozen Sea)"[16].

1.2. Pliny the Elder (*HN* IV 104): "A Tyle unius diei navigatione mare concretum a nonnullis Cronium appellatur" – "One day's sail from Thule is the Frozen Ocean, called by some the Cronian Sea"[17].

1.3. Philemon *apud* Pliny the Elder (*HN* IV 95): "Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbro vocati, hoc est mortuum mare, inde usque ad promunturium Rusbeas, ultra deinde Cronium" – "Philemon says that the Cimbrian name for it is *Morimarusa* (that is, 'Dead Sea'), from there up to Cape Rusbeae, and from that point onward the Cronian Sea"[18].

1.4. Pseudo-Agathemerus: Κρόνιον (*scil*. πέλαγος) "Cronian (Sea)"[19].

1.5. Gaius Iulius Solinus (22, 9): "Ultra Thylen accipimus pigrum et concretum mare"[20] – "Beyond Thule we find the sluggish and frozen sea"[21].

1.6. Solinus (19, 2): "Oceanum septemtrionalem ex ea parte, qua a Propaniso amne Scythia adluitur, Hecataeus Amalcium appellat, quod gentis illius lingua significat congelatum. Philemon a Cimbris ad promunturium Rubeas Morimarusa dicit vocari, hoc est mortuum mare; ultra Rubeas quicquid est Cronium nominat"[22] – "Hecataeus says that the part of the Northern Ocean, on which Scythia is washed by the river Propanisus, bears the name *Amalcium*, which means 'the Frozen Sea' in the language of this (Scythian) nation. Philemon says that the Ocean from the Cimbrian people up to the promontory Rubeae is called *Morimarusa*, that is the dead sea; whatever is beyond the Rubeae promontory, it is named *Cronium*"[23].

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[16] S. Radt (ed.), *Strabons Geographika*, vol. I, Göttingen 2002, p. 156. The English translation (partially modified) is quoted after Roller, *The Geography*... (n. 3), pp. 88–89. See also H.L. Jones (ed.), *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. I, London–Cambridge, MA 1960, p. 232 (Greek text) and p. 233 (English translation); Mette, *op. cit*. (n. 1), p. 19; Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), pp. 120–121. There is no doubt that Philemon used the Greek explanation νεκρὸς πόντος or νεκρὴ θάλασσα (lit. 'dead sea'), translated into Latin as *mortuum mare* by Pliny the Elder.

[17] I. Mikołajczyk (ed.), Gajusz Pliniusz Sekundus, *Historia Naturalna*, vol. I, Toruń 2017, p. 332. English translation: H. Rackham (ed.), Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. II, Cambridge, MA–London 1961, p. 199. See also Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), p. 92.

[18] Rackham, *op. cit*. (n. 17), vol. II, p. 192 (Latin text) and p. 193 (English translation, quoted with a modification). Cf. also Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), p. 83.

[19] Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), p. 44.

[20] B.J. Kołoczek (ed.), Gajusz Juliusz Solinus, *Zbiór wiadomości godnych uwagi albo Polihistor*, Kraków 2020, p. 180.

[21] Our own translation. An alternative translation is proposed by A.E. Apps, *Gaius Iulius Solinus and His Polyhistor*, PhD diss., Sydney 2011: "Above Thule we hear that the sea is sluggish and frozen".

[22] Kołoczek, *op. cit*. (n. 20), p. 170.

[23] Our own translation.

1.7. Isidore of Seville (*Orig*. XIV 6, 4): "Unde [*scil*. ultra Thylen] et pigrum et concretum est eius mare"[24] – "Hence (i.e. beyond Thyle) its sea is sluggish and frozen"[25].

Etymology: The purely Greek term πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα, rendered as *mare concretum* in Latin (both mean 'congealed sea'), was originally used by Pytheas of Massalia, as we may assume on the basis of Strabo's statement (II 1)[26]. The form πεπηγυῖα (lit. 'frozen, congealed') represents a feminine form of the reduplicated participle of the perfect tense derived regularly from the Greek verb πήγνυμι 'to fix firmly in the ground; to set firmly; to plant in the ground; to stick, plunge, plant; to fix together, construct, build; to fix, establish, set, hold firm; to make solid or stiff; to be frozen, freeze, coagulate, stiffen'[27]. Also the term Κρόνιον (πέλαγος) "the Cronian Sea; the Sea of Cronos" was probably taken from Pytheas' work *On the Ocean*[28]. It evidently derives from the Greek theonym Κρόνος, denoting the main god of older generation, son of Uranus and Gaia, who reigned all the world before Zeus and the Olympic gods.

Other ancient and modern names: Claudius Ptolemy (II 2, 1) prefers the basic term Ὠκεανὸς Ὑπερβόρειος "the Hyperboreian Ocean". Codices B, E, Z of Ptolemy's *Geography* unanimously add that the same ocean is alternatively named Ὠκεανὸς Πεπηγὼς ἤ Κρόνιος ἤ Νεκρός ("the Frozen Ocean or the Cronian Ocean or the Dead Ocean"). Codices F and Ω document a similar interpolation: Ὠκεανὸς Ὑπερβόρειος, ὃς καὶ Πεπηγὼς ἤ Κρόνιος ἤ Νεκρός καλεῖται ("the Hyperboreian Ocean, which also is called the Frozen or the Cronian or the Dead")[29]. Both interpolations are probably taken from Dionysius Periegetes' poem entitled *Οἰκουμένης περιήγησις* ("Description of the known world"), lines 30–35:

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[24] A. Valastro Canale (ed.), Isidoro de Siviglia, *Etimologie o Origini*, vol. II, Novara 2014, p. 204.

[25] S.A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, O. Berghof, *The "Etymologies" of Isidore of Seville. Translated with Introduction and Notes*, Cambridge 2006, p. 294.

[26] Note that Mette (*op. cit*. [n. 1]) consequently gives the writing ἡ Πεπηγυῖα Θάλαττα, thus he treates it as a proper name, originally introduced to the Greek language by Pytheas of Massalia, cf. p. 2, n. 1 ("als 'Πεπηγυῖα Θάλαττα' bezeichnet Pytheas das Nordmeer") and p. 48, s.v. Πεπηγυῖα Θάλαττα. Most editors prefer to write this term with small letters. The same scholar consequently introduces the Latin term *mare concretum* as a proper name, cf. p. 4 ("*Mare Concretum* (die Πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα des Pytheas)") and p. 6 ("Schließlich aber spricht unser Fragment wiederum von dem 'Geronnenen Meere', der 'Πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα' des Pytheas, das wir bei Plinius als '*Mare Concretum*' kennen lernten, und setzt dieses in der Nähe der Insel Thüle an").

[27] F. Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, Leiden–Boston 2018, pp. 1660–1661; J. Diggle (ed.), *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon* [= *CGL*], vol. II, Cambridge 2021, pp. 1129–1130. See also R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, vol. II, Leiden–Boston 2010, p. 1184.

[28] Mette, *op. cit*. (n. 1), p. 48, s.v. Κρόνιον Πέλαγος.

[29] *Ibidem*, p. 3, n. 9.

> Ἄτλας ἑσπέριος κικλήσκεται, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν
> πρὸς βορέην, ἵνα παῖδες ἀρειμανέων Ἀριμασπῶν,
> πόντον μιν καλέουσι πεπηγότα τε Κρόνιόν τε·
> ἄλλοι δ᾽ αὖ καὶ νεκρὸν ἐφήμισαν εἵνεκ᾽ ἀφαυροῦ
> ἠελίου· βράδιον γὰρ ὑπεὶρ ἕλα τήνδε φαείνει,
> αἰεὶ δὲ σκιερῇσι παχύνεται ἐν νεφέλῃσιν

> Its name's the western Atlas, but above, | Northwards, the warlike Arimaspi's sons' domain, | They call it Cronian and Frozen Sea; | Others call it dead one, from the dreary | Sun, which briefly shines above that sea, | And always is engrossed in shadowing cloud[30].

In his geographical poem Dionysius of Alexandria called Periegetes (AD 2nd c.) used two main names denoting the northernmost part of the Atlantic Ocean, i.e. the Arctic Ocean: ὁ Πεπηγὼς Πόντος ("the Frozen Sea") and ὁ Κρόνιος Πόντος ("the Cronian Sea"). Both are probably adapted from Pytheas' work[31]. He added the alternative term ὁ Νεκρὸς Πόντος (literally "the Dead Sea") taken from other Greek source, most probably from a lost work by Philemon, as Pliny the Elder and Solinus seem to suggest (see 1.3 and 1.6).

Three Greek names denoting the Arctic Ocean (namely Ὠκεανός, Κρόνιος πόντος and νεκρή θάλασσα) appeared in the so-called *Argonautica Orphica*. The authorship and the date of this epic poem are uncertain[32], but there is no doubt that the *Orphic Argonautica* must have been written after the publication of Pytheas' work *On the Ocean*. The text in question (*Arg*. *Orph*. 1081–1082) runs as follows:

> ἔμπεσε δ᾽ Ὠκεανῷ, Κρόνιον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσι,
> πόντον Ὑπερβόρεοι μέροπες, νεκρήν τε θάλασσαν.

> ...and [Argo] fell into the Ocean, which the Hyperborean men call the Cronian Sea or the Dead Sea[33].

As far as we know, the Greek term ἀρκτικὸς ὠκεανός "the Arctic Ocean" appeared for the first time in the *Roman History* (XLIX 43, 1) by Cassius Dio (AD ca. 164–ca. 235)[34]. It was transferred via MLat.[35] *Oceanus Arcticus* to most

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[30] J.L. Lightfoot (ed.), Dionysius Periegetes, *Description of the Known World. With Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Oxford 2014, p. 157.

[31] It is worth emphasising that the Ancient Greeks commonly used four almost synonymous terms for 'sea': θάλασσα / θάλαττα (f.), πέλαγος (n.), πόντος (m.) and ὠκεανός (m.).

[32] According to Emilia Żybert (*Argonautyki orfickie*, Wrocław 2011, p. 24), it was recorded in Hellenistic times, perhaps in the third century BC in Alexandria.

[33] J. Colavito, *The Orphic Argonautica*: *An English Translation*, Albany, NY 2011.

[34] F.R. Adrados, *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. III, Madrid 1991, p. 514.

[35] Abbreviations used: Cher.: Cheremiss (Mari); Corn.: Cornish; E.: English; Elfd.: Elfdalian; Est.: Estonian; Far.: Faeroese; Fi.: Finnish; G.: German; Gael.: Irish-Gaelic; Gk.: Greek; Icel.: Icelandic; It.: Italian; Kam.: Kamassian; Koib.: Koibal; Lat.: Latin; Lith.: Lithuanian; MDu.:

European languages, e.g. E. *Arctic Ocean*; Est. *Arktika Ookean*; G. *Arktischer Ozean*; It. *Oceano Artico*; Pol. *Ocean Arktyczny*; Sp. *Océano Ártico*[36]. Also an anonymous author of the late-antique treatise introduced two Greek terms similar to modern terminology: "the Arctic Ocean" and "the Northern Ocean" (Ἀρκτικὸς καὶ Βόρειος λέγεται), indicating that the same ocean is alternatively named "the Cronian Sea" and "the Frozen Sea" and "the Dead Sea" (ὁ δὲ αὐτός οὗτος σύμπας καὶ Κρόνιον Πέλαγος καὶ Πεπηγὼς καὶ Νεκρός ἐπονομάζεται)[37].

2. THE ORKNEYS

The Orkneys are firstly registered as *Orcades* by Pomponius Mela, who informs that the archipelago comprises 30 islands[38]. Pliny the Elder uses the same name *Orcades* saying that they are 40 in number. The Orkneys (Lat. *Orcades*, acc. *Orcadas*) are also mentioned by Juvenal, Tacitus, Orosius, Julius Honorius, Jordanes and Bede. Ptolemy calls them Ὀρκάδες νῆσοι ('the Orkney islands'). The alternative version *Orchades* appear in some Late Latin sources (Solinus, Eutropius, Jerome, Isidore of Seville), as well as the Greek ones (Gk. Ὀρχάδες in Paeanius and the *Suda*). Paulus Orosius explains that the Orkneys creates an archipelago of 33 islands, among them 13 are inhabited and 20 uninhabited. Jordanes writes that there are 34 Orkney islands, though not all are inhabited[39].

Selected sources:

2.1. Pomponius Mela (*Chor*. III 54): "Triginta sunt Orcades angustis inter se diductae spatiis"[40] – "The thirty Orcades [Orkney Islands] are separated by narrow spaces between them"[41].

Middle Dutch; MLat.: Mediaeval Latin; Mordv.: Mordvinian; Nen.: Nenets Samoyed (Yurak); Ngan.: Nganasan Samoyed (Tawgi); NSaa.: Northern Saami; OE.: Old English; OHG.: Old High German; OIr.: Old Irish; ON.: Old Norse; PCelt.: Proto-Celtic; PG.: Proto-Germanic; Pol.: Polish; Saa.: Saami (Laponian); Scot.-Gael.: Scottish-Gaelic; Selk.: Selkup Samoyed; Sp.: Spanish; Udm.: Udmurt; Yen.: Yenisey Samoyed (Enets); Zyr.: Zyrian.

[36] R. Faure Sabater, *Diccionario de nombres geográficos y étnicos del mundo*, Madrid 2004, p. 56. The Greek adjective ἀρκτικός 'northern' derives from the noun ἄρκτος f./m. 'bear' and 'north'. The name refers to the constellation called Μεγάλη Ἄρκτος or *Ursa Maior* ("the Great Bear"), which indicates the North Pole, cf. J. Staszewski, *Mały słownik: pochodzenie i znaczenie nazw geograficznych*, Warszawa 1968, p. 42.

[37] Anon. Geogr. Comp. 45. Cf. Mette, *op. cit*. (n. 1), p. 3, n. 9; G. Rasch, *Antike geographische Namen nördlich der Alpen*, Berlin–New York 2005, p. 45, s.v. *Cronium mare*.

[38] Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), pp. 40, 433.

[39] *Ibidem*, p. 40.

[40] A. Silberman (ed.), Pomponius Mela, *Chorographie*, Paris 1988, p. 82; S. Szarypkin, K.T. Witczak, *Pomponiusza Meli Chorografia czyli Opis kręgu ziemi*, Piotrków Trybunalski 2011, p. 152.

[41] F.E. Romer (transl.), *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*, Ann Arbor 1998, p. 117.

2.2. Pliny the Elder (*HN* IV 103): "Sunt autem XL Orcades, modicis inter se discretae spatiis"[42] – "There are the 40 Orkneys, separated by narrow channels to each other"[43].

2.3. Tacitus (*Agr*. 10, 4): "hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque" – "A Roman fleet then for the first time sailed around this shore of the most distant sea and confirmed that Britain was an island, and at the same time discovered and subdued islands that had been unknown up to this time, which men call the Orcades"[44].

2.4. Claudius Ptolemy (II 3, 31): Ὑπὲρ ἣν αἱ Ὀρκάδες, περὶ τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὧν τὸν μεταξὺ ἐπέχει μοίρας λ – ξᾱ γό[45] – "Above these islands are the Orcades, about thirty in number, the middle of which is in 30° – 61°40' N"[46]; "Nördlich von ihr die Orkaden/Orkney-Inseln, ungefähr dreissig an der Zahl; ihr Mittelpunkt liegt bei 30° 61°40'"[47].

2.5. Solinus (22, 9): "Secundum stationem euntibus Orchades praebent. Sed Orchades ab Ebudibus porro sunt septem dierum totidemque noctium cursu numero tres. [...] Ab Orchadibus Thylen usque quinque dierum ac noctium navigatio est"[48] – "The Orchades provide the second outpost for those journeying. But the Orchades, three in number, are seven days and as many nights further on from the Ebudes. [...] From the Orchades all the way to Thule, the voyage is five days and nights"[49].

2.6. Paulus Orosius (*Adv. pag*. I 78): "A tergo autem unde oceano infinito patet Orcadas ínsulas habet quarum XX desertae sunt, XIII coluntur"[50] – "To its rear, where an infinite expanse of Ocean lies open, are the Orkney Islands. Twenty of these are deserted and thirteen are inhabited"[51].

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[42] Mikołajczyk, *op. cit*. (n. 17), vol. I, p. 330.

[43] Rackham, *op. cit*. (n. 17), vol. II, p. 199.

[44] H.W. Benario (transl.), Tacitus, *Agricola, Germany, and Dialogue on Orators*, Indianapolis–Cambridge 2006, p. 32. See also Breeze, Wilkins, *op. cit*. (n. 8), p. 303.

[45] A. Stückelberger, G. Grasshoff (eds.), Ptolemaios, *Handbuch der Geographie*, Basel [2]2006, p. 157.

[46] E.L. Stevenson (transl.), Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, New York 1991, p. 51.

[47] Stückelberger, Grasshoff, *op. cit*. (n. 45), p. 157.

[48] Kołoczek, *op. cit*. (n. 20), p. 180.

[49] Translated by Apps, *op. cit*. (n. 21).

[50] C. Zangemeister (ed.), *Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, Vindobonae 1882, p. 29.

[51] A.T. Fear (transl.), Orosius, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, Liverpool 2010, p. 45.

2.7. Jordanes (*Get*. I 34): "nec non et Orcadas numero XXXIV, quamvis non omnes excultas" – "besides the Orcades [Orkneys], thirty-four in number, though not all inhabited"[52].

2.8. Isidore of Seville (*Orig*. XIV 6, 5): "Orcades insulae Oceani intra Britanniam positae munero triginta tres, quarum viginti desertae sunt, tredecim coluntur"[53] – "The Orkneys (*Orcades*) are islands of the Ocean within Britannia, numbering thirty-three, of which twenty are uninhabited and thirteen colonized"[54].

Comments: The Orkney Islands, conquered in AD 80 by Agricola's fleet, became part of the Roman empire beginning from the first century AD. They are frequently mentioned in the Roman and Greek literary sources. This is why the identification of Orcades with the Orkneys is certain and accepted by all researchers[55].

Etymology: Most scholars believe that the name *Orcades* represents a Celto-Greek hybrid, containing most probably the Celtic noun **orkos* 'pork, young pig' (< IE. **porḱos* m. 'young pig, piglet', cf. OIr. *orc* 'piglet, young pig / porc jeune'[56], Lat. *porcus* m. 'tame, swine, hog, pig', OHG. *farah* n. 'piglet', OE. *fearh*, Lith. *paršas* m. 'castrated male pig, hog, barrow, pork; piglet, young pig; male pig, boar', Pol. *prosię* 'young pig')[57], used as a tribal or totemistic designation, and the Hellenic suffix -άδες (in plural). We generally agree with Rivet and Smith's statement that this name was taken by Pomponius Mela (and other Roman writers) from an earlier (Ancient Greek) geographical literature, which may indicate that the nesonym *Orcades* (< Gk. Ὀρκάδες) was "already old when [it] came to Mela, and had been first set down in the Greek of Pytheas"[58]. There is no doubt that when the name *Orcades* (acc. pl. *Orcadas*) "became known to Pytheas, a Celtic people must already have established in the islands"[59].

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[52] C.C. Mierow (transl.), *The Gothic History by Jordanes*, Princeton–London 1915, p. 53. Translation augmented and slighty modified.

[53] Valastro Canale, *op. cit*. (n. 24), vol. II, p. 204.

[54] Barney, Lewis, Beach, Berghof, *op. cit*. (n. 25), p. 294.

[55] See especially Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), p. 434: "Identification. The Orkney Islands".

[56] J. Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*, vol. II, Dublin–Paris 1959, p. O-28. There are also homonyms in Old Irish and Middle Irish, cf. OIr. *orc* m. 'salmon, *Salmo salar* L. / saumon' (< IE. **porḱos* m. 'a stripped fish', cf. Lat. *porcus* m. 'a kind of freshwater fish', perhaps 'trout', Ligurian river name *Porcobera*, literally 'bearing the fish called *porkos*', perhaps 'trout-bearing'), as well as MIr. *orc* m. 'egg / œuf' and MIr. *orca* f. 'calf (of a human) / mollet'.

[57] R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*, Leiden–Boston 2009, p. 137. He additionally notes that "[t]he name of Orkneys is probably from the same PCelt. root". See also W. Smoczyński, *Lithuanian Etymological Dictionary*, vol. III, Berlin 2018, p. 915 and M. Rychło, *Ślady prawa Grimma w angielszczyźnie w zestawieniu z polskimi wyrazami pokrewnymi: pie.*p > pgerm.*f*, Język Polski XCIV 2014, fasc. 3, pp. 200–211, at 208.

[58] Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), p. 433.

[59] *Ibidem*, pp. 433–434. See also W.S. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1926, pp. 28–30.

Rivet and Smith review opinions of earlier scholars devoted to the semantic motivation of the nesonym *Orcades*. They tentatively assume that it "might mean literally 'whale islands' or refer to a sea-monster or to some large creature such as seals or porpoises (Williams), or it might mean 'îles de saumon' (Guyonvarc'h); it can scarcely refer literally to pigs or boars. But it is also possible, according to Watson 28–30, that the name derives from a tribal designation, **Orcoi* 'boars', which as Watson notes was a noble animal in Celtic folklore"[60].

It cannot be ruled out that the Celtic word *orc* once designated a large marine mammal living in the Atlantic Ocean[61]. Indeed, the Romans borrowed a similar sounding term for a large sea animal from some northern source (presumably from a Gaulish or Brythonic or Goidelic dialect), cf. Lat. *orca* f. 'a large sea mammal', prob. 'the grampus' (Plin. *HN* IX 12–14)[62] (< PCelt. **orkā* f. < IE. **porḱā* f. 'pig, swine, sow', cf. Lat. *porca* f. 'a female pig, sow'). Moreover, the Romans used their native terms for designating marine animals, cf. Lat. *porcus* (*marinus*) m. 'harbour porpoise, *Phocoena phocoena* L. / marsouin' (Plin. *HN* XXXII 19, 56, 150) ← Lat. *porcus* m. 'male pig, boar'[63]; Lat. *porculus marinus* m. 'a fish, perhaps a kind of shark, *Centrina salviani* L.' (Plin. *HN* IX 45) ← Lat. *porculus* m. 'young pig'[64]; Lat. *suillus* m. 'a kind of marine animal' (Isid. *Orig*. XII 6, 12: "*porci marini*, qui vulgo vocantur *suilli*, qui dum escam quaerunt, more suis terram sub aquis fodiunt") ← Lat. *suillus* m. 'young or small pig'[65]. The Brittonic Celts also introduced a number of associative names for sea animals, e.g. W. *morhwch* 'dolphin' (< PCelt. **mori-sūkā*, literally 'sea sow'); OW. *morfil* 'whale', Corn. *morvil* 'cetus' (< PCelt. **mori-mīlon* n. 'whale', lit. 'sea animal', cf. OIr. *míl mora* 'whale', lit. 'animal of the sea')[66].

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[60] Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), p. 433.

[61] Faure Sabater (*op. cit*. [n. 36], pp. 445–446) expresses the following opinion: "El topónimo se documenta en época romana como *Orcades*, y en el año 970 como *Orkaneya*. Parece tratarse de un derivado del céltico *orc*. que servía para designar grandes animales marinos, como focas, orcas o ballenas, voz emparentada con il latín *orca*, 'orca'. La forma española Orcadas se tomó de la latina".

[62] J.T. White, *A Complete Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary*, London 1899, p. 429, s.v. orca ("etym. dub.; but prob. of northern origin, the word *orc* in Erse signifying a pig, a salmon, a whale"). It is worth emphasising that most researchers suggest a Greek origin of Lat. *orca*, referring to Gk. ὄρυξ (acc. sg. ὄρυγα) 'eine Walfischart', see E. de Saint-Denis, *Le vocabulaire des animaux marins en latin classique*, Paris 1947, p. 77; A. Walde, J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. II, Heidelberg 1954, p. 220; P.G.W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary* [= *OLD*], Oxford 1968, p. 1265.

[63] See de Saint-Denis, *op. cit*. (n. 62), p. 90. The author gives a number of similar formations attested in the Romance and Germanic languages, including It. *porco marino*, Fr. *porc de mer*, OHG. *merisuin*, G. *Meerschwein* 'porpoise'. See also Pol. *morświn* 'harbour porpoise'.

[64] *OLD*, p. 1265.

[65] de Saint-Denis, *op. cit*. (n. 62), pp. 90 and 111.

[66] W. Stokes, A. Bezzenberger, *Wortschatz der keltischen Spracheinheit*, Göttingen 1894, p. 217.

Modern names: E. *Orkneys*; Pol. *Orkady*[67]; Sp. *Orcadas*. The Nordic name of the Orkneys, *Orkneyjar*, was registered for the first time as *Orkaneya* in 970. It derives from ON. *orkn* n. 'a kind of seal / Robbenart' and ON. *ey* f. 'island', thus it probably denotes "the seal islands / Robbeninseln"[68]. The Nordic term for 'island', attested in Far. *oyggj* f. 'island' and Elfd. *ä* f. 'id.', derives from PG. **aujō* f. 'wetland, island', cf. OE. *īeg* f. 'island', MDu. *ooi*, *ouwe* f. 'island in a river, wetland', OHG. *ouwa* f. 'island, meadow', G. *Aue* f. 'meadow'[69]. The Proto-Germanic noun in question appears in some names of the northern European islands or peninsulas, attested in ancient times, e.g. *Austeravia* (Plin. *HN* IV 97) 'Helgoland' (originally 'the eastern island')[70]; *Scatinavia* (Plin. *HN* IV 96) 'Scandinavia or Scandinavian Peninsula'. The English name for the Orkney Islands is of Nordic origin. Although the earliest quotation for the Orkneys provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary* dates from year 1805, a significantly earlier evidence can be found in Layamon's *Brut* (ca. 1190–1215), a Middle English poem compiled and recast by the English priest Layamon. In line 11289, we find the following nesonyms: *Gutlond & Irlond, Orcaneie & Islond* "Gotland and Ireland, the Orkneys and Iceland"[71].

3. THE SHETLANDS

The Shetlands are mentioned as *Haemodae* by Roman authors (e.g. Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder)[72], who distinguish as many as seven islands in the archipelago. This number referred presumably to the inhabited Shetland islands in antiquity[73]. According to Pomponius Mela, the Shetlands are located facing

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[67] Staszewski, *op. cit*. (n. 36), p. 320.

[68] *Ibidem*, pp. 189–190; J. de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Leiden 1977, p. 420, s.v. *orkn*; W.B. Lockwood, *On the Early History and Origin of the Names Orkney and Shetland*, Namn och Bygd LVIII 1980, pp. 19–35, at 20–23.

[69] G. Kroonen, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic*, Leiden–Boston 2013, p. 41. See also V. Orel, *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology*, Leiden–Boston 2003, p. 4.

[70] On PG. **austera-* 'east, eastwards', see Kroonen, *op. cit*. (n. 69), p. 43. Helgoland was primitively treated as the easternmost island of the Frisian archipelago. Rasch (*op. cit*. [n. 37], p.24) does not suggest a concrete location (an unidentified island "vor der friesische Küste").

[71] G.L. Brook, R.F. Leslie (eds.), *Laȝamon*: *Brut. Edited from British Museum MS. Cotton Caligula A. IX and British Museum MS. Cotton Otho C. XIII*, vols. I–II, London 1963–1978.

[72] Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), p. 41 ("probably the Shetlands") and p. 241 ("probably the Shetland Islands, which were misidentified as *Thule* by Agricola's fleet"). Horst Roseman (*Pytheas*... [n. 1], p. 90) correctly stresses that the Orkneys (Lat. *Orcades*) and the Shetlands (Lat. *Haemodae*) were known to Pomponius Mela (*Chor*. III 54). Also Breeze and Wilkins (*op. cit*. [n. 8], p. 303) accept this position, strongly stressing that "[t]here is no reason to doubt Rivet and Smith's conclusion that the Shetland Islands were *Haemodae*".

[73] Today fifteen Shetland islands are inhabited. Some researchers note, however, that "[t]here are 16 islands in the Shetland archipelago, but seven larger islands", see Breeze, Wilkins, *op. cit*. (n. 8), p. 305.

Germania ("contra Germaniam")[74], which means that they face the North Sea (called *Mare Germanicum*).

Sources:

3.1. Pomponius Mela (*Chor*. III 54): "septem Haemodae contra Germaniam vectae" – "the seven Haemodae extend opposite Germany"[75].

3.2. Pliny the Elder (*HN* IV 103): "VII Haemodae" – "the 7 Shetlands"[76].

Comments: The identification of *Haemodae* with the Shetlands is wholly convincing. The Shetland archipelago contains, in fact, seven larger islands[77]. Pomponius Mela is correct that the Shetlands face towards the North Sea, thus they are opposite to the Germanic areas in Scandinavia, Jutland and the European coast between Rhine and Elbe (Lat. *Albis*).

Etymology: According to Rivet and Smith, the derivation of the island name in question is "unknown"[78]. It seems probable, however, that the Latin nesonym *Haemodae* renders Gk. *Αἱμῶδαι or a similar Hellenic prototype (e.g. *Αἱμώδεις), which derives from the Greek noun αἷμα n. 'blood'[79]. In fact, the name *Αἱμῶδαι is not attested in the preserved Ancient Greek literature. In other words, the tentative hypothesis according to which the nomenclature *Αἱμῶδαι or *Αἱμώδεις (attested as *Haemodae* in the Latin geographical works) goes back to the lost work *Περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ* by Pytheas of Massalia, is noteworthy. It cannot be excluded that the proper name *Haemodae* was connected with a possible bloody slaughter of marine mammals on coasts of the Shetland islands. Note that every year there is a traditional hunting of dolphins and whales on the Faeroe islands, known as *grindadráp*. In September 2021, over 1,400 dolphins were killed. A similar masacre of the marine mammals used to take place in the historical times on the Shetlands.

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[74] Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), p. 90, n. 94.

[75] Translated into English by Romer, *op. cit*. (n. 41), p. 117. Note that the translator wrongly identifies the islands called *Haemodae* as "Denmark". Also Silberman (*op. cit*. [n. 40], p. 286) suggests that the Haemodae should be identified with "îles danoises". For a different interpretation, see Szarypkin, Witczak, *op. cit*. (n. 40), p. 152. In fact, the Danish islands are not located towards the Germanic seashore (*contra Germaniam*), understood by the ancient Romans as the coast of the North Sea from the Rhine to the Elbe.

[76] Rackham, *op. cit*. (n. 17), vol. II, p. 199; Mikołajczyk, *op. cit*. (n. 17), vol. I, p. 330.

[77] Breeze, Wilkins, *op. cit*. (n. 8), pp. 305–306.

[78] Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), p. 241.

[79] *CGL*, vol. I, p. 32. It is worth emphasising that the island name *Haemodae* 'the Shetlands' cannot be directly related to Gk. αἱμώδης, -ες adj. (*es*-stem) 'bloody, blood red', also 'that has irritated (or bleeding) teeth', cf. Adrados, *op. cit*. (n. 34), vol. I, p. 89; Montanari, *op. cit*. (n. 27), p. 52. The regular plural form of the Hellenic adjective should be αἱμώδεις. This is why the proper name *Αἱμῶδαι is structurally unclear. Of course, the Latin name *Haemodae* could be wrongly created on the basis of a Greek inflectional form (e.g. gen. pl. *Αἱμωδῶν).

Modern names: E. *Shetland*; Pol. *Wyspy Szetlandzkie*, *Szetlandy*[80]; ON. *Hjaltland*; Scot.-Gael. *Catuibh*; Saa. *Ketje* (< *ketje* 'end'). The modern name of the Shetlands is probably first recorded in 1190 in the form *Hetland*, attested in a letter written by Harald, earl of Orkney, Shetland and Caithness: "Dilectissimis amicis suis et hominibus Haraldus Orcardensis. Hetlandensis et Catanesie comes salutem" (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 1190). Most researchers believe that *Hetland* probably stems from the Old Norse words *hjalt* 'hilt', and *land* 'land'[81]. According to Peder Gammeltoft, "[t]he specifics betray that the original form of the specific of Shetland must be akin to **Hjat-*, and not *Hjalt-* as is often claimed"[82]. It cannot be excluded that the initial part **het-* derives from ON. *hetja*, Icel. *hetja*, Far. *hetja* 'brave warrior / mutiger Krieger'[83], thus the name of *Hetland* can theoretically denote "the islands of brave warriors". Józef Staszewski explains *Hetland* by means of the Saami word *ketje* 'end', noting additionally that "czarnowłosa pierwotna ludność tutejszych wysp wydaje się również pochodzenia fińskiego ze Skandynawii" [the black-haired indigenous population of the local islands also seems to be of Finnish origin from Scandinavia][84]. In his interpretation, the original name *Hetland* represents a Saami-Nordic hybrid compound denoting "the land at the end (of the world)".

The English name *Shetland* demonstrates [ʃ] in the initial position. In order to explain the change of the initial consonant, it can be hypothesised that the initial letters <hj> reflected a voiceless sonorant, which may have been interpreted as a fricative *sh* [ʃ] by the speakers who lacked voiceless sonorants in their phonological system.

4. THE HEBRIDES

The Hebrides (Gk. Ἔβουδαι or Αἰβοῦδαι; Lat. *Ebudes* or *Hebudes*) was mentioned by some Ancient Greek geographers (e.g. Ptolemy, Stephanus of

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[80] Staszewski, *op. cit*. (n. 36), p. 414.

[81] Lockwood, *op. cit*. (n. 68), p. 20. Note that ON. *hjalti*, *hjaltr* m. denotes 'an inhabitant of the Shetlands / Bewohner der Shetland-Inseln', whereas the Shetlandic term *sjalti*, *sjalt* means 'Shetland pony, shelty / Shetlsands-Pferd', cf. J. Jakobsen, *Etymologisk Ordbog over det orrøne Sprog på Shetland*, København 1921, p. 741; de Vries, *op. cit*. (n. 68), p. 231.

[82] P. Gammeltoft, *Shetland and Orkney Island-Names – A Dynamic Group*, in: R.M. Millar (ed.), *Northern Lights, Northern Words. Selected Papers from the FRLSU Conference*, *Kirkwall 2009*, Aberdeen 2010, pp. 15–25, at 21. The mediaeval attestations for the Shetlands (e.g. *Hetlandensis* 1190; *Hiatlandi* 1299; *Hietlandie* 1266; *Hietlandie* 1379; *Hiatlandi* 1405; *Hieltland* 1412; *Hetland* 1431) clearly demonstrate that the name *Hetland* must be assumed as primitive. The alternative form *Heltland* is of innovative origin (it appears as early as the 15th century AD). In other words, the semantics "Hilt-land" is secondary, probably caused by a folk etymology.

[83] de Vries, *op. cit*. (n. 68), p. 226.

[84] Staszewski, *op. cit*. (n. 36), p. 414. He refers to Taylor (1888).

Byzantium), as well as some Roman writers (e.g. Pliny the Elder, Solinus)[85]. Pliny knows 30 islands, Solinus only 5. Stephanus of Byzantium places five islands called Αἰβοῦδαι north to Ireland. Ptolemy notes additionally that the most westerly island of the Hebrides is known as Ἔβουδα[86].

Sources:

4.1. Pliny the Elder (*HN* IV 103): "XXX Hebudes"[87] – "the 30 Hebrides"[88].

4.2 Claudius Ptolemy (II 2, 10): Ὑπέρκεινται δὲ νῆσοι τῆς Ἰουερνίας, αἵ τε καλούμεναι Ἔβουδαι, ē τὸν ἀριθμὸν. ὧν ἡ δὲ δυτικοτέρα καλεῖται Ἔβουδα[89] – "Above Hibernia [= Ireland] are the Ebuda islands [= Outer Hebrides] five in number, the largest of which toward the west is called Ebuda"[90].

4.3. Solinus (22, 9): "A Calidoniae promuntorio Thylen petentibus bidui navigatio est. Inde excipiunt Ebudes insulae quinque numero, quarum incolae nesciunt fruges, piscibus tantum et lacte vivunt. [...] Sed Orchades ab Ebudibus porro sunt septem dierum totidemque noctium cursu numero tres"[91] – "For those seeking Thule, the voyage from the Calidonian promontory to the Ebudes islands is two days long. These are five in number, and their inhabitants do not know grain, but live on fish and milk. [...] But the Orchades, three in number, are seven days and as many nights further on from the Ebudes"[92].

4.4. Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethn.* α.90): Αἰβοῦδαι· νῆσοι ε΄ τῆς Πρετανικῆς, ὡς Μαρκιανὸς ἐν περίπλῳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Αἰβουδαῖος[93] – "*Aibudai* (Hebrides), the five Britannic islands, as Markianos in his periplus. The ethnic name is *Aibudaios*" (our own translation).

Comments: Pliny's thirty *Hebudes* are commonly identified with the Hebrides. Ptolemy and Stephanus of Byzantium presumably refers Ἔβουδαι (later transcribed as Αἰβοῦδαι), five in number, to the Outer Hebrides and not to the Inner Hebrides. It is uncertain whether or not Ptolemy's single Ἔβουδα refers to Lewis and Harris, the largest island of the Outer Hebrides.

Etymology: William J. Watson suggests that the Old Irish term *Ibdaig* ('Hebrideans'), denoting one of tribes of the Mediaeval Ireland goes back to the

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[85] Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), p. 40.

[86] *Ibidem*, p. 354.

[87] Mikołajczyk, *op. cit*. (n. 17), vol. I, p. 330.

[88] Rackham, *op. cit*. (n. 17), vol. II, p. 199.

[89] *Claudi Ptolemaei Geographia*, ed. K.F.A. Nobbe, vol. I, Lipsiae 1843, p. 66.

[90] Translated by Stevenson, *op. cit*. (n. 46), p. 49. Our additions are placed in brackets.

[91] Kołoczek, *op. cit*. (n. 20), p. 180.

[92] Translated by Apps, *op. cit*. (n. 21).

[93] M. Billerbeck (ed.), *Stephani Byzantii Ethnica*, vol. I, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 2006, p. 74 (Greek text) and p. 75 (German translation). See additionally G.F. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Braunschweig 1911, p. 28; Adrados, *op. cit*. (n. 34), vol. I, p. 76.

Celtic archetype **Ebudācī* 'men of the *Ebudae*'[94]. Moreover, the Scottish Gaelic *Ibdach* refers to the modern population of the Hebrides. The name of the islands, as well as that of the tribe, cannot be explained on the basis of the Celtic vocabulary, thus it is convincingly suggested that they "may well be pre-Celtic"[95]. The non-Celtic origin of the primitive inhabitants of the Hebrides seems possible, if the Picts, the earliest people in the North Scotland, represent a foreign Pre-Celtic population. On the other hand, Roberto Faure Sabater suggests a purely Celtic etymology for *Hebudes*, referring to W. *hebyd* 'without grain / sine cereal'[96]. The last explanation seems to suggest that the Hebrides were considered by the Brittonic Celts as distant islands devoid of useful things for the human life (cf. W. *hebyd* 'without').

Mediaeval and modern names: Gael. *Inse Ghall* (literally 'Gaelic Isles'); ON. *Suðr-eyjar* ('Hebrides', lit. 'Southern Isles'); Icel. *Suðreyjar*, Far. *Suduroyggjar* (lit. 'the southern islands'). The Nordic nesonym was evidently given from the point of view of inhabitants of Iceland, the Shetlands and the Faeroe Islands[97]. Most modern names seem to reflect an English innovation created in the 18th century on the basis of a wrong reading of the ancient nesonym *Hebudes*[98]. Secondary names: E. *Hebrides*; Sp. *Hébrides*; Pol. *Hebrydy* and so on[99].

5. THE FAEROES AND THE STREYMOY

The Faeroe Islands are mentioned as *Bergos* (acc. pl.) by Pliny the Elder, who distinguishes the largest island of them, i.e. Streymoy, under the Latin name *Berricē* (< Gk. *Βερρική)[100]. Pliny adds that one may sail from Berrice to Thule (i.e. to Iceland). Pomponius Mela stresses that Thule is opposite the coun-

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[94] Watson, *op. cit*. (n. 59), p. 38. See also Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), p. 355.

[95] *Ibidem*, p. 354.

[96] Faure Sabater, *op. cit*. (n. 36), p. 290, s.v. Hébridas: "La etimología del nombre es incierta, aunque se ha señalado la posible relación con el galés *hebyd*, 'sin cereal', como alusión al hecho de que la isla era un terreno inculto; de hecho, en fuentes antiguas se señala que los habitantes de estas islas no conocían el cultivo del cereal". See S. Losique, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de pays et de peuples*, Paris 1971.

[97] Lockwood, *op. cit*. (n. 68), p. 19.

[98] Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), p. 355 ("Modern *Hebrides* derives from an English misreading of Solinus' *Ebudes*, and with reference to the two large groups of outlying islands, is a misapplication of the ancient name"). See also Staszewski, *op. cit*. (n. 36), p. 168; Faure Sabater, *op. cit*. (n. 36), p. 290.

[99] Faure Sabater, *op. cit*. (n. 36), p. 290. According to Staszewski (*op. cit*. [n. 36]), the Hebrideans are a mixture of the Goidelic and Nordic tribes. The name of the main island of the Outer Hebrides called *Lewis and Harris* demonstrates the same treatment. E. *Lewis* derives from Gael. *Leoghas* (lit. 'marshland') and E. *Harris* from ON. *Har ey* (lit. 'high island').

[100] S. Wolfson (*Tacitus*, *Thule and Caledonia*. *The Achievements of Agricola's Navy in their True Perspectives*, Oxford 2008, p. 20, n. 47) stresses that Berrice is a Greek name, which

try of the Belcae (i.e. to the Faeroe Isles)[101]. Thus, it can be suggested that the Faeroes were settled either by Belgae, the well-known Celtic tribe, or by a local (non-Celtic) people, whose tribal name (Lat. *Belcae*) was accidentally similar to that of Belgae.

Sources:

5.1. Pomponius Mela (*Chor*. III 57): "Thyle Belcarum litori adposita est" – "Thule is located near the coast of Belcae"[102].

5.2. Pliny the Elder (*HN* IV 104): "Sunt, qui et alias prodant: [...] Bergos maximaque omnium Berricen, ex qua in Tylen navigetur"[103] – "Some writers speak of other islands as well [...] the Faeroes (*Bergi*), and Berrice, the largest of all, from which the crossing to Thule starts"[104].

Comments: Christina Horst Roseman notes that Ireland, Britain, the Orkneys, the Hebrides and the Shetlands are "securely identified"[105]. In her opinion, "[t]he Bergi might also indicate the Faeroes", though she does not exclude other alternative possibilities (e.g. Bergi "could be taken as an earlier name for the Shetlands" and "Berrice might be the largest of these, Mainland")[106]. Pliny the Elder distinguishes between the Bergi islands and the Haemodae (i.e. the Shetlands), thus the suggested identification of Bergi with the Faeroes and Berrice with Streymoy, the largest island of this archipelago, seems the best possible option. Note that the Faeroe islands are exactly located between the Shetlands and Iceland. They may be treated as the last known stay during a sea journey from Britain to Thule, i.e. Iceland.

The Mediaeval Irish sources inform about a semi-legendary people called *Fir Bolc* or *Fir Bolg*, who was registered as *Builc* (Old Welsh nom. pl.) in the early ninth-century Latin text of Nennius' *Historia Brittonum*[107]. Nennius (*floruit* ca. 830) informs us that this people possessed a number of islands, including

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evidently derives from Pytheas' relation. Other scholars agree with his opinion, see e.g. Breeze, Wilkins, *op. cit*. (n. 8), p. 305.

[101] O.A.W. Dilke, *Geographical Perceptions of the North in Pomponius Mela and Ptolemy*, Arctic XXXVII 1984, pp. 347–351, at 348. The author correctly notes that Pomponius Mela treats Belcae as a synonym for the Scythians (*Chor*. III 36), which may suggest that "the Belcae were the inhabitants of Balcia" (quotation from p. 349). The island of Balcia is commonly identified with Pytheas' *Basilia* (< Gk. *Βασιλεῖα).

[102] Romer, *op. cit*. (n. 41), p. 117. For the Latin text, see Silberman, *op. cit*. (n. 40), p. 83; Szarypkin, Witczak, *op. cit*. (n. 40), p. 152.

[103] Mikołajczyk, *op. cit*. (n. 17), vol. I, p. 332.

[104] Translated by Rackham, *op. cit*. (n. 17), p. 199, with some modifications.

[105] Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), p. 90.

[106] For these quotations, see Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), p. 94.

[107] Vendryes, *op. cit*. (n. 56), vol. I, p. B-68.

Eubonia (= Isle of Man) and other near islands[108]. The book entitled *Lebor Bretnach* (§13), being a translation of Nennius' work into Old Irish, made by Gilla Cóemain (11th c.), gives OIr. *Fir Bolg* (< PCelt. **viroi Bulkoi* 'men of the Belgi/Belgae') as an equivalent of OW. *Builc*. It was claimed that the people of Fir Bolg used their own language called *belgaid* or *bealgoth*. According to Joseph Vendryes, *belgaid* is an imaginary language, inspired by the name of *Belgae* ("nom d'une langue imaginaire attribuée aux *Fir Bolg* [...]. Inspiré par le nom de peuple *Belgae*")[109]. We cannot agree with his claim. The Belgae and other tribes of the Gallia Belgica spoke their own language, which was completely different from Gaulish and Aquitanian (= Ancient Basque), as it is explicitly documented by Julius Caesar (*Gall*. I 1, 1–3):

> Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. *Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt.* Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae...
>
> Gaul, if you take all of it into account, is divided into three regions. The Belgae live in one, the Aquitani in the second, and in the third a people called Celts in their own language but Gauls in ours. *These three peoples are all different from one another in their languages, institutions, and laws.* The Garumna River separates the Aquitani from the Gauls, and the Matrona and Sequana Rivers separate the Gauls from the Belgae. Of all these groups, the most warlike are the Belgae...[110]

The Belgae invaded the British Isles in prehistorical times, probably earlier than the Goidelic Celts and the Brittonic Celts. According to Arthur W. Wade-Evans, the Builc (= OIr. *Fig Bolg* 'men of the Bolg', genetically related to *Belgi* or *Belgae*) were "pre-Scottish invaders of Ireland who, after their defeat at Mag Tuired in Co. Sligo, fled to various islands"[111]. It is possible that a fraction of the

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[108] Nennius (*HB* 14): "Builc autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam et alias circiter" – "Builc with his followers held the island of Eubonia, *Man*, and other around about"; translated by A.W. Wade-Evans, *Nennius's "History of the Britons" together with "The Annals of the Britons" and "Court Pedigrees of Hywel the Good", also "The Story of the Loss of Britain"*, London 1938, p. 41. See also J.A. Giles (transl.), Nennius, *History of the Britons (Historia Brittonum)*, Cambridge (Ontario) 2000, p. 8.

[109] Vendryes, *op. cit*. (n. 56), p. B-30, s.v. belgaid. The author rejects any connection of *belgaid* 'a native language of the Fir Bolg' and the tribal name *Belgae* 'ancient Belgians' with the Old Irish adjective *belgach* 'bavard, loquace, talkative, gossipy / bavard' (< PCelt. **belgākos* adj.), though there are numerous examples of an obvious relation between the tribal names and the adjectives denoting a kind of saying, e.g. E. *Laconian* 'a native dialect of the ancient Spartans', *Laconians* 'the Spartans; ancient inhabitants of Laconia' (< Gk. Λάκωνες) and *laconic* adj. 'speaking in a blunt, concise way; saying shortly, using few words; expressed in few words'.

[110] Raaflaub's translation, see K.A. Raaflaub (transl.), Julius Caesar, *The Complete Works. Gallic War, Civil War, Alexandrian War, African War, and Spanish War*, New York 2017, p. 3.

[111] Wade-Evans, *op. cit*. (n. 108), p. 41, n. 3.

Pre-Celtic Belgi settled in the Faeroe Islands before the fourth century BC. This is why Pytheas of Massalia termed the Faeroes *Βέργοι (hence *Bergī*, acc. pl. *Bergōs*, in Pliny's work) after their local inhabitants (hence *Belcarum litus* 'coast of the Belcae' in Mela's geographical treatise)[112]. The Greek nesonym *Βέργοι, containing the liquid stop ρ [r] instead of λ [l], may be easily explained by influence of the proper name *Βερρική (hence Lat. *Berricē*) referred to Streymoy, the largest island of the Faeroes.

Modern names: E. *Faeroes*, *Faeroe Isles*; Dan. *Färöerne*; ON. *Færeyjar* ('the Sheep Islands / Schafinseln')[113]; Far. *Fær Øer* ('The Islands of Sheep'); Sp. *Féroe islas*[114]. Pol. *Wyspy Owcze* (lit. 'the Sheep Islands') seems to be a linguistic calque of the original name[115].

6. THULE – ICELAND

The island called Thule (Gk. Θούλη or *Θύλη, Lat. *Thulē*, *Thylē*, *Tylē*), mentioned for the first time by Pytheas of Massalia, refers to "the furthest land of the north". It is to be identified, as we believe, with Iceland (and not with Norway). It is the most popular identification beginning from mediaeval times. Of course, one should agree with Rivet and Smith that Pytheas' Thule may be treated not only as "a geographical term (of various application)", but also as "a semi-mythical and literary commonplace"[116].

Selected sources:

6.1. Publius Vergilius Maro (*Georg*. I 30): "tibi serviat ultima Thule"[117] – "Ultima Thule bow down to you"[118].

6.2. Strabo of Amasea (I 4, 2): εἶτ' ἐπὶ τὸν κύκλον τὸν διὰ Θούλης (ἣν φησι Πυθέας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχειν πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἐγγὺς δ' εἶναι τῆς πεπηγυίας θαλάττης) – "then to the parallel that runs

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[112] It may be alternatively translated as 'coast of the Faeroes'.

[113] de Vries, *op. cit*. (n. 68), p. 149.

[114] Faure Sabater, *op. cit*. (n. 36), p. 240.

[115] Staszewski, *op. cit*. (n. 36), p. 137, s.v. Färöerne, concludes that the common sense ("Sheep Islands") represents a folk etymology. Is it possible to assume that ON. *Færeyjar* (f. pl.) 'the Faeroe Isles' was, in fact, a specific adaptation of the Pre-Nordic name *Bergi* (< Gk. *βέργοι)? According to A.W. Brøgger, *Den Norske bosetningen på Shetland-Orknoyene: studier og resultater*, Oslo 1930, the Nordic name of the Faeroes imitated a Goidelic Celtic nesonym, related to MIr. *fearann* 'land, country, territory / Land, Gebiet', cf. de Vries, *op. cit*. (n. 68), p. 149. If this hypothesis is correct, then Pytheas' phoneme *β- (hence Lat. *b*-) appears to render PCelt. **v*- or **w*-.

[116] Rivet, Smith, *op. cit*. (n. 11), p. 473. For a literary representation of Thule, see M. Mund-Dopchie, *La survie littéraire de la Thulé de Pythéas*, Ant. Cl. LIX 1990, pp. 79–97; A. Ferrari, *Dizionario dei luoghi del mito*, Milano 2011, pp. 959–960.

[117] S. Ottaviano, G.B. Conte (eds.), P. Vergilius Maro, *Bucolica*, *Georgica*, Berlin–Boston 2013, p. 124.

[118] J. Lembke (transl.), *Virgil's Georgics*, New Haven–London 2005, p. 4.

through Thule (which Pytheas says is six days' sail north of Brettanike [i.e. Britain] and is near the Frozen Sea)" (see 1.1).

6.3. Strabo (I 4, 3): ὅ τε γὰρ ἱστορῶν τὴν Θούλην Πυθέας ἀνὴρ ψευδίστατος ἐξήτασται, καὶ οἱ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν <καὶ> Ἰέρνην ἰδόντες οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς Θούλης λέγουσιν, ἄλλας νήσους λέγοντες μικρὰς περὶ τὴν Βρεττανικήν – "For the one who records Thule, Pytheas, has been established as a man of the greatest falsehoods, since those who have seen Brettanike [i.e. Britain] and Ierne [i.e. Ireland] have nothing to say about Thule, although mentioning other islands (the small ones around Brettanike)"[119].

6.4. Strabo (IV 5, 5): Περὶ δὲ τῆς Θούλης ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀσαφὴς ἡ ἱστορία διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμόν· ταύτην γὰρ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ἀρκτικωτάτην τιθέασιν. ἃ δ' εἴρηκε Πυθέας περί τε ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταύτῃ τόπων ὅτι μὲν πέπλασται, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν γνωριζομένων χωρίων – "Concerning Thule our historical information is still more uncertain, on account of its outside position; for Thule, of all the countries that are named, is set farthest north. But that the things which Pytheas has told about Thule, as well as the other places in that part of the world, have indeed been fabricated by him, we have clear evidence from the districts that are known to us"[120].

6.5. Pomponius Mela (*Chor*. III 57): "Thyle Belcarum litori adposita est, Grais et nostris celebrata carminibus. In ea, quod ibi sol longe occasurus exsurgit, breves utique noctes sunt, sed per hiemem sicut alicubi obscurae, aestate lucidae"[121] – "Thule is located near the coast of Belcae. This island is celebrated in Greek poetry and in our own. On it – because there the sun rises far from where it will set – nights are necessary brief, but all winter long they are as dark as anywhere, and in summer bright"[122].

6.6. Pliny the Elder (*HN* IV 104): "ultima omnium quae memorantur Tyle [...]. Sunt, qui et alias prodant: Scandias, Dumnam, Bergos maximaque omnium Berricen, ex qua in Tylen navigetur. A Tyle unius diei navigatione mare concretum a nonnullis Cronium appellatur"[123] – "The most remote of all those recorded is Thule [...]. Some writers speak of other islands as well, the Scandiae, Dumna, the Faeroes (*Bergi*), and Berrice, the largest of all, from which the crossing to

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[119] Radt, *op. cit*. (n. 16), vol. I, p. 156; transl. by Roller, *The Geography*... (n. 3), p. 89 (with some modifications and additions). See also Jones, *op. cit*. (n. 16), vol. I, p. 234 (Greek text) and p. 235 (English translation); Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), p. 24.

[120] Radt, *op. cit*. (n. 16), vol. I, p. 526; transl. by Jones, *op. cit*. (n. 16), vol. II, p. 260 (Greek text) and p. 261 (English translation); Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), p. 68.

[121] Silberman, *op. cit*. (n. 40), p. 83; Szarypkin, Witczak, *op. cit*. (n. 40), p. 152.

[122] Translation by Romer, *op. cit*. (n. 41), p. 117, with some modifications. According to Dilke (*op. cit*. [n. 101], p. 350), "Mela describes Thyle as the darkest place in winter and the lightest in summer".

[123] Mikołajczyk, *op. cit*. (n. 17), vol. I, p. 332.

Thule starts. One day's sail from Thule is the Frozen Ocean, called by some the Cronian Sea"[124].

6.7. Tacitus (*Agr*. 10, 4): "Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum et hiems appetebat" – "Thule was only seen from far off, since their orders went only so far and winter was approaching"[125].

6.8. Claudius Ptolemy (II 3, 32): Καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς [*scil*. τὰς Ὀρκάδας] ἡ Θούλη[126] – "Far above these [Orcades, i.e. the Orkneys] is the island Thule"[127].

6.9. Solinus (22, 9): "Multae et aliae circa Brittaniam insulae, e quibus Thyle ultima, in qua aestivo solstitio sole de cancri sidere faciente transitum nox [paene] nulla: brumali solstitio perinde nullus dies. Ultra Thylen accipimus pigrum et concretum mare. A Calidoniae promuntorio Thylen petentibus bidui navigatio est. [...] Ab Orchadibus Thylen usque quinque dierum ac noctium navigatio est. Sed Thyle larga et diutina Pomona copiosa est"[128] – "There are many other islands around Britain. Of these, Thule is the farthest away. There, when it is the summer solstice, and the sun is making its crossing down from the star of Cancer, there is no night. Similarly, at the winter solstice, there is almost no day. Above Thule we hear that the sea is sluggish and frozen. For those seeking Thule, the voyage from the Calidonian promontory to the Ebudes islands is two days long. [...] From the Orchades all the way to Thule, the voyage is five days and nights. But Thule is large and fertile with plentiful, long-lasting fruits"[129].

6.10. Martianus Capella (VI 595): "solstitiali vero tempore, cum caeli verticem sol invectus subiectas deorsum terras perpetui diei continuatione collustrat, itemque brumali descensu semiannuam facit horrere noctem, quod in insula Tyle compertum Pytheas Massiliensis asseruit"[130] – "In fact, at the time of the summer solstice, when the sun has reached the top of heaven, it lights up the lands beneath successively with continuous day, and likewise causes them to shiver in

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[124] Rackham, *op. cit*. (n. 17), vol. II, p. 199 (translation slightly modified). See also Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), p. 92.

[125] Benario, *op. cit*. (n. 44), p. 32.

[126] *Claudi Ptolemaei Geographia*, vol. I, p. 74.

[127] Translated by Stevenson, *op. cit*. (n. 46), p. 51.

[128] Kołoczek, *op. cit*. (n. 20), p. 180.

[129] Translated by Apps, *op. cit*. (n. 21); the last phrase contains our small improvement. Gaius Iulius Solinus, the Roman writer of the third century AD, says that Thule is a large island ("Thule larga [...] est") accompanied by fertility (*copiosa*) and long-lasting fruits (*diutina Pomona*). It seems that alleged fertile aspects of Thule could be inspired with some Greek fantastic romances like e.g. Antonius Diogenes' *Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα* ("The Wonders beyond Thule"), published in the second century AD, cf. Ferrari, *op. cit*. (n. 116), pp. 959–960. It is uncertain whether Pytheas of Massalia described Thule as a large island or not.

[130] J. Willis (ed.), Martianus Capella, Lipsiae 1983, p. 209.

a six month night during its winter descent – which Pytheas the Massaliote asserted he found in Tyle island"[131].

6.11. Orosius (*Adv*. *pag*. I 79): "Deinde insula Thyle, quae per infinitum a ceteris separata, circium uersus medio sita oceani, uix paucis nota habetur"[132] – "Then comes the island of Thule, which is separated from the others by an infinite stretch of water and lies to their north-west in the middle of the Ocean. It is known to very few men"[133].

6.12. Jordanes (*Get*. I 35) "Habet et in ultimo plagae occidentalis aliam insulam nomine Thylen, de qua Mantuanus: Tibi serviat ultima Thyle" – "And at the farthest bound of its western expanse it has another island named Thule, of which the Mantuan bard makes mention: 'And Farthest Thule shall serve thee'"[134].

6.13. Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethn*. θ.54): Θούλη· νῆσος μεγάλη ἐν τῷ Ὠκεανῷ ὑπὸ τὰ Ὑπερβόρεα μέρη, ἔνθα τὴν θερινὴν ἡμέραν ὡρῶν κ ὁ ἥλιος ἰσομερινῶν ποιεῖ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα δ, τὰς δὲ χειμερινὰς τοὐναντίον. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Θουλαῖος, ἴσως δὲ καὶ Θουλίτης[135] – "*Thoulē*: a great island in the Ocean beyond the Hyperborean areas, where the sun appears twenty equinoctial hours every summer day and the night lasts four hours, but every winter hours of the day and the night are reversed. The ethnic name is *Thoulaios*, perhaps also *Thoulitēs*" (our own translation).

6.14. Isidore of Seville (*Orig*. XIV 6, 4): "Thyle ultima insula Oceani inter septentrionalem et occidentalem plagam ultra Brittaniam, a sole nomen habens, quia in ea aestivum solstitium sol facit, et nullus ultra eam dies est. Unde et pigrum et concretum est eius mare[136] "Ultima Thyle (*Thyle ultima*) is an island of the Ocean in the north-western region, beyond Britannia, taking its name from the sun, because there the sun makes its solstice, and there is no daylight beyond (*ultra*) this. Hence its sea is sluggish and frozen"[137].

Comments: Iceland is the most popular identification of Pytheas' island named *Thule* (also *Thyle*, *Tyle*), beginning with Bede and mediaeval times[138].

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[131] Horst Roseman, *Pytheas*... (n. 1), p. 79.

[132] Zangemeister, *op. cit*. (n. 50), p. 29.

[133] Translated by Fear, *op. cit*. (n. 51), p. 45.

[134] Translated by Mierow, *op. cit*. (n. 52), p. 53.

[135] M. Billerbeck, C. Zubler (eds.), *Stephani Byzantii Ethnica*, vol. II, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 2011, p. 246 (Greek text) and p. 247 (German translation).

[136] Valastro Canale, *op. cit*. (n. 24), vol. II, pp. 204.

[137] Barney, Lewis, Beach, Berghof, *op. cit*. (n. 25), p. 294.

[138] See I. Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius*. *A Geographical Narrative in Context*, Helsinki 2008, p. 58: "A definite identification is impossible, but Iceland is the clear favourite"; Kedwards, *op. cit*. (n. 8), pp. 127–141. One can agree with the opinion that Adam of Bremen was the first writer who explicitly identified Thule with Iceland (IV 36: "Thyle nunc Island appellatur a glacie, quae Oceanum attingit"). No ancient author was able to make such identification, as nobody knows a different name for Thule in antiquity. Orosius, Jordanes and Isidore of Seville

Other alternative suggestions include a number of North Atlantic islands (e.g. the Shetlands, the Orkneys, the Faeroes, Greenland), different parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula or the Jutlandian one, and even some islands located in the Baltic Sea (e.g. Bornholm, Gotland, Saaremaa)[139]. Paulus Orosius and Isidore of Seville explicitly indicate that the island Thyle is located northwest of Britany, as well as Ireland, and not northeast of them, thus all eastern proposals for locating Thyle should be completely rejected, if we accept a possible conclusion that their words exactly reflect Pytheas' description. Jordanes also confirms the westernmost location of Thule, the furthest island of the Northern Atlantic.

Etymology: Rivet and Smith express their own opinion, according to which the name Thule "is obviously very ancient; no origin or meaning can be suggested for it". According to Isidore of Seville, Thule is named after the sun, because the sun makes its solstice near the island. In fact, there is no relation between the name of Thule (Gk. Θούλη) and Lat. *sōl* m. 'sun', as well as Gk. ἥλιος m. 'id.' (< IE. **sāu̯el-*, **sāu̯eliu̯os*). Eric P. Hamp treats the Greek nesonym *Θύλη (transcribed commonly as Θούλη) as a borrowing of foreign origin. He explains it as a reflex of the Prehellenic (or "Pelasgian") word **thulā* 'land', which may be treated as the precise equivalent of Slovene *tla* (plurale tantum) 'ground, floor'[140]. Unfortunately, the Ancient Greek appellative *θύλη with the meaning 'land, ground, floor' is completely unknown. Moreover, it can hardly be accepted that the Prehellenic term **thulā* was exclusively preserved in the Massaliotic dialect. The name of an island located in northern waters of the Atlantic Ocean should be borrowed from a local (northern) source rather than from the Prehellenic inhabitants of Greece, who – according to some researchers – are believed to be an extinct people of Indo-European origin[141].

Some scholars derive Pytheas' name Θούλη (pronounced originally as ['tʰule:]) from the North Germanic root **þaul-* or **þul-* denoting 'the narrow fjords / die engen fjorde', cf. ON. *þaularvágr* 'bay to get stuck in / Bucht, in der man festsitzen bleiben kann', Icel. *þaul* 'get stuck / sich festreden'[142]. They

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unanimously agree to locate Thule in the northwestern part of the Atlantic Ocean, where Iceland is placed. The Romans visited Iceland in antiquity, as evidenced by findings of three Roman coins, see F.M. Heichelheim, *Roman Coins from Iceland*, Antiquity XXVI 1952, pp. 43–45. Irish monks also settled in Iceland in early mediaeval times.

[139] As far as we know, about 80 different theories about the location and the identification of Thule have been suggested. Most of them must be rejected. See O. Dreyer-Eimbcke, *Island, Grönland und das nördliche Eismeer im Bild der Kartographie seit dem 10. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg 1987, p. 3; Valtonen, *op. cit*. (n. 138), p. 58, fn. 84; Ferrari, *op. cit*. (n. 116), p. 959, s.v. Tule.

[140] E.P. Hamp, *Prehellenica. 8. Thule, Thyle*, Živa Antika XXIX 1989, p. 84.

[141] I.R. Danka, *Pelazgowie autochtoni Hellady*: *pochodzenie*, *język*, *religia*, Łódź 2007.

[142] B. Collinder, *Der älteste überlieferte germanische Name*, Namn och Bygd XXIV 1936, pp. 92–97 (he also refers to Scandinavian place-names: Norw. *Taul*, *Taule*, Sw. *Tölö* as possible equivalents of Gk. Θούλη); Staszewski, *op. cit*. (n. 36), p. 433; de Vries, *op. cit*. (n. 68), p. 606,

believe that the semantic motivation is connected with the waterfront of the great fjords[143]. Of course, the coast of Norway is full of narrow fjords, but the Iceland (i.e. the ancient Thule) rather does not fit this feature.

Lennart Meri suggests that the Pytheas' legendary Thule should be identified with Saaremaa, the largest Estonian island in the Baltic Sea[144]. He translates Thule as "the island of fire", referring to Est. *tuli* (gen. *tule*) 'fire' (< Common Finnic **tule* 'id.') and to the crater lake named Kaali, formed by a meteor strike in prehistory (ca. 1530–1450 BC). He suggests that the meteor strike, creating a big fire in Saaremaa, was remembered by the Estonian people, who constantly believe that the sun rests on the island of Saarema[145]. Johanna Laakso suggests that the name of the Thule island, located in northern parts of the Atlantic Ocean, can be explained as a loanword of Uralic origin[146]. She believes that the nesonym *Thule*, if it could lie in Norway or in Estonia, might be motivated by the Proto-Uralic term **tule* 'fire / Feuer', cf. Fi. *tuli* (gen. *tulen*) 'fire', Est. *tuli* (gen. *tule*) 'id.', NSaa. *dollâ* (gen. *dolâ*) 'fire', Mordv. *tol* 'spark, fire', Cher. *tul* 'fire', Udm. *ťįl* 'id.', Zyr. *ťįl-kęrt* 'iron for striking fire'; Ngan. *tui* 'fire', Nen. *tū* 'id.', Yen. *tuu* 'id.', Selk. *tyy* 'fire', Kam. *šu* 'id.', Koib. *siu* 'id.' and so on[147]. In fact, the Greek words ἡ Θούλη νῆσος ("the island of Thule") may be easily explained as a partial calque of a Proto-Finnic term denoting "the island of fire", cf. Est. *tule saar*, Fi. *tulen saari* (literally 'the island of fire'), NSaa. *dolâ suolu* ('id.'). Thus, it is possible that Pytheas of Massalia took his mysterious name Θούλη from a local informant of West Finnic or Saami origin[148]. Unfortunately, such an ex-

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s.v. *þaul*. It should be emphasised that the suggested nominal root **þaul-* or **þul-* is completely absent in the standard Proto-Germanic dictionaries, cf. Orel, *op. cit*. (n. 69); Kroonen, *op. cit*. (n. 69). A different etymology is also suggested by V. Blažek, *On Chronology of the First Germanic Sound Shift (Lex Rask – Grimm)*, Lingua Posnaniensis LXIV 2022, fasc. 1, pp. 7–26, at 8–9, who explains the nesonym *Thule* with a reference to ON. *þollr* m. 'fir-tree, pine-tree' (< PG. **þullaz* m. 'id.'). This etymology seems hardly possible if Thule is to be identified as Iceland because the island in question was devoid of trees in antiquity.

[143] Staszewski, *op. cit*. (n. 36), p. 433.

[144] L. Meri, *Hõbelvalge*: *Reisikiri tuulest ja muinaluulest*, Tallinn 1976.

[145] According to Old Estonian folk poems, the crater lake of Kaali (in Saaremaa) is depicted as the place where "the sun went to rest", cf. Meri, *op. cit*. (n. 144).

[146] J. Laakso, *Erasmus guest lectures at the University of Padova*, *October 2006.* Handout as PDF file; http://homepage.univie.ac.at/Johanna.Laakso/Padova2006/ (2006) 1.

[147] B. Collinder, *Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary. An Etymological Dictionary of the Uralic Languages*, Hamburg 1977, p. 80; K. Rédei, *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. I, Budapest 1986, p.535, s.v. tule[I] 'Feuer'.

[148] It is worth emphasising that – according to the Byzantine writer Procopius of Caesarea (6th c. AD) – the island of Thule was settled by the Saami-Finnic tribes called *Skrithiphinoi*: Τῶν δὲ ἱδρυμένων ἐν Θούλῃ βαρβάρων ἓν μόνον ἔθνος, οἳ Σκριθίφινοι ἐπικαλονται, θηιώδη τινὰ βιοτὴν ἔχουσιν – "But among the barbarians who are settled in Thule, one nation only, who are called the Scrithiphini, live a kind of life akin to that of the beasts", see Blažek, *op. cit*. (n. 142), p. 22. It is possible that Procopius' *Thule*, in fact, represented Scandinavia, but such a conclusion

planation seems to eliminate Norway as a possible equivalent of Thule. It should be strongly emphasised that Iceland is the only one island in the North Atlantic with frequent volcano eruptions, which can be seen from a long distance. In other words, only Iceland could be called "the island of fire" for natural reasons.

Other mediaeval and modern names: ON. (in 9th c.) *Snæland* or *Snjoland* ('the land of snow', cf. ON. *snær* (gen. sg. *snjóar*), *snjár*, *snjór* m. 'snow / Schnee', Icel. *snjór*, Far. *snjógvur*, *snjó* 'id.')[149]; ON. (from 9th c.) *Ísland* ('the land of ice'); E. *Iceland*; Pol. *Islandia*[150]; Sp. *Islandia*[151]. According to Staszewski[152], Iceland was inhabited by Celts in the second half of the eighth century. This claim can be supported by the testimony of the monk Dicuilus (*De mensura orbis terrae* 825). Staszewski also provides the evidence coming from various toponyms, e.g. *Ira*, *Iragardi*, which seem to preserve some Irish traces. Adam of Bremen was the first writer who explicitly connects the name Thule with Iceland (*Gesta* IV 36): "Thyle nunc Island appellatur a glacie, quae Oceanum attingit" – "This Thule is now called Iceland, from the ice which binds the ocean"[153].

8. CONCLUSIONS

The detailed analysis of the Ancient Greek and Latin onomastic data devoted to islands situated north of Britain leads to the following conclusions:

8.1. Pytheas of Massalia visited all the main islands and archipelagos of the North Atlantic, including Britain, Ireland, Iceland, the Orkneys, the Shetlands, the Hebrides and the Faeroes.

8.2. Pytheas created new onomastic terminology connected with Northern Europe, which was later repeated or adopted by most Ancient Greek and Roman geographers, including πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα (hence Lat. *mare concretum* "the Frozen / Congealed Sea") and Κρόνιον πέλαγος (hence Lat. *Cronium* "the Cronian Sea") as designations for the Arctic Ocean.

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is not necessary. In the sixth century (and earlier) Iceland could theoretically have been inhabited by Scrithiphini, according to the testimony of Procopius. Note that Scandinavia was the homeland of the Gothic tribes, as well as Nordsmen (*Suiones* in Tacitus' *Germania* 44–45). We believe that the Scandinavian people called *Sithones* (*Germania* 45), ruled by a woman, should be associated with the Saami tribes. The Latin ethnonym *Sithones* may derive from the Saami term for 'camp, village', cf. Lule Saami *siiˈta* 'Lappendorf, Lappenlager', NSaa. *siiˈdâ* 'mountain camp, (Saami) camp', Kildin Saami *sijt* 'lappisches Dorf' (< Proto-Saami **sijtā*).

[149] de Vries, *op. cit*. (n. 68), p. 527; Orel, *op. cit*. (n. 69), pp. 355–356; Kroonen, *op. cit*. (n. 69), p. 460, s.v. *snaiwa-.

[150] Staszewski, *op. cit*. (n. 36), pp. 189–190.

[151] Faure Sabater, *op. cit*. (n. 36), pp. 318–319.

[152] Staszewski, *op. cit*. (n. 36), pp. 189–190.

[153] F.J. Tschan (transl.), Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, New York 2002, p. 217. See also Staszewski, *op. cit*. (n. 36), pp. 189–190.

8.3. He was the first known writer who used the following proper names: Ὀρκάδες (hence Lat. *Orcades*) for the Orkney Isles, *Αἱμῶδεις or *Αἱμῶδαι (hence Lat. *Haemodae*) for the Shetlands, Ἔβουδαι or Αἰβοῦδαι (hence Lat. *Hebudes* or *Ebudes*) for the Hebrides, *Βέργοι (Lat. *Bergi*) for the Faeroe Islands, *Βερρική (hence Lat. *Berricē*) for Streymoy, the largest island of the Faeroes and also Θούλη (or Θύλη) for Iceland, the furthest island of the Northern Europe.

8.4. Most nesonyms created by Pytheas reflect some local (northern) names of islands partially adopted to the Ancient Greek language by means of purely Greek suffixes (e.g. -άς, pl. -άδες) or endings (e.g. -η).

8.5. Pytheas' Θούλη [tʰule:], referring originally to Iceland, appears to be a partial translation of a West Finnic or Saami proper name denoting 'the island of fire', cf. Est. *tule saar*, Fi. *tulen saari* 'id.'. This etymology can be justified on the grounds that Iceland is the only volcanic island in the North Atlantic.

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VERBAL PARALLELISMS AND ECHO EFFECT IN NICANDER'S *ALEXIPHARMACA*[*]

by

EMILIA ŻYBERT

ABSTRACT: The number of *dis legomena* in Nicander's *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* adds up 530 in 1588 lines in total. Among them, there are doublets that appear in each of the poems, and others that join them together. Moreover, there are multiple similarly sounding words placed close to each other, which create a kind of echo effect. In this article, I claim that the technique of duplicating words comes from repetition, which in turn is a characteristic of oral tradition. However, it was reworked by Hellenistic poets, most importantly by Aratus, and then adapted and developed by others, including Nicander. Firstly, based on the introductory and ending lines of the *Alexipharmaca*, I discuss a wide spectrum of doubled words used in the poem, focusing on Nicander's dialogue with earlier literature. Secondly, I attempt to strengthen Enrico Magnelli's argument that the ending of the poem (611–628), believed to be spurious by Nicander's editors, is in fact authentic.

The purpose of this article is to present verbal parallelism as one of Nicander's poetic techniques. Most of the doublets he chose are rare words that appeared earlier in the works of Homer or doyens of Hellenistic poetry, namely Callimachus, Apollonius, Theocritus, Lycophron and Aratus who apparently used them for artistic reasons solely due to their rarity. However, there are also *prima dicta*, *dis legomena*, two variants of the same word of which one is a *hapax legomenon* (for instance a *hapax* λιχμήμων and a verb λιχμάομαι, Nic. *Alex*. 37, 569), being apparently Nicander's coinage that gives an interesting "twist" to the technique. There are also rare Homeric words or strictly scientific ones. Moreover, common words are frequently used in an unexpected sense, for example χολή: 'bile' as 'ink of a cuttle fish'. Additionally, there appear parallel phrases and even whole lines, and some doubled words are placed very close to each other.

All in all, there are more than 200 pairs of the same or cognate words in the *Theriaca* and more than 150 in the *Alexipharmaca*[1].The disproportion may be due to varying lengths of the poems (958 and 630 lines, respectively). There is also a considerable number (approximately 180) of parallel words that bond both epics

[*] I would like to thank the journal's two referees for their valuable comments.

[1] See Appendix I.

together[2], including two acrostics with the author's name (*Ther*. 343–353, *Alex*. 266–273). An analysis of the characteristics of Nicander's style could not only shed light on the structure of the *Alexipharmaca*, but might also help resolve editorial problems, especially those concerning the ending of the poem, often believed to be spurious.

Doubling of words by Nicander can hardly be a coincidence. It is rather a conscious artistic choice. This thesis is supported by the fact that pairs of words were also a stylistic feature of other Hellenistic poems, including Lycophron's *Alexandra* and Callimachus' *Hymns*[3]. The aim of this poetic technique seems to be both structural and euphonic. On the one hand, doubling of words creates compositional 'seams'[4] that give inner coherence to the poem, while at the same time, due to their abundance, readers may have a kind of *déjà vu* feeling. But on the other hand, repeating words or phrases placed close to each other enhances rhythmic and melodic aspect of the poem. The effect of echo that permeates Nicander's œuvre was noticed by Jean-Marie Jacques who pointed out some repetitions of phrases, words, similarly sounding grammatical forms or the same lines in the *Alexipharmaca* which contribute to the overall harmony of the poem[5]. Moreover, Floris Overduin enumerated some instances of cognate words within the same line or located relatively close to each other in the *Theriaca*[6]. I suggest that the technique of close repetitions and doubling of words derives from Aratus' *Phaenomena*, who for his part probably intended to rework the Homeric style which is generally based on repetition of scenes, motifs, epithets, formulas and

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[2] See Appendix II.

[3] Żybert 2019.

[4] To read more about the notion of compositional seams, see: Żybert 2019: 186.

[5] See Jacques (2002: CIX, n. 236), who points at nine doublets in the *Theriaca* (24 ~ 113; 76 ~ 82; 100 ~ 934; 112 ~ 126; 129 ~ 673; 263 ~ 283; 396 ~ 498; 498 ~707), together with a whole line doubled there (28 ~ 489); see also Jacques 2007: LXXXV–LXXXVII (*Alexipharmaca*): ὕδασιν ἐτήξαιο ~ ὕδασιν ἐμβρήξαιο (229, 237), μορόεν πότον ~ μορόεν πότον (130, 136), καρφεῖα νέον βεβρωμένα κέδρου ~ γήρεια νέον τεθρυμμένα κάκτου (118, 126), τὰ δ'ἀθρόα ~ τὸ δ'ἀθρόον (137, 320), κατατρίφθεντα ~ ἐνθρύφθεντα (98, 204), ἴσθμια καὶ φάρυγος στεινὴν ἐμφράσσεται οἶμον ~ ἴσθμια καὶ φάρυγος στεινὴν ἐμφράσσεται οἶμον (190, 615), θηλῆς ~ θηλῆς (356, 359), πεύκης ~ πεύκη (546, 549), σπειρώδεϊ κόρσῃ ~ σπειρόδεα κόρσεν (253, 527), στρουθοῖο κατοικάδος ~ στρουθοῖο κατοικάδος (60, 535: *eadem sede*), *epanalepsis*: γαίης / Παρθενίης ~ Ἰμβρασίδος γαίης (148/149–150), ἤμυνεν ~ ἤμυνεν (388, 389), φρύνης ~ λιμναίης φρύνης (575, 576), καρύοιο ~ καρύοιο (269, 271: *eadem sede*), ζώμυμα ~ ζώμυμα (521, 525), ἀλθαίνει ~ ἀλθαίνει (556, 556a). J.-M. Jacques also points to some parallels between the *Theriaca* and the *Alexipharmaca*: ἔτρεφεν αἶα (*Alex*. 271 ~ *Ther*. 168), ἀργέος ἄνθην (*Alex*. 305 ~ *Ther*. 356), πρασιῆσιν (*Alex*. 532) ~ πρασιῆς ~ πράσον (*Ther*. 879).

[6] Overduin 2014: 74: μητρός ~ ἀμήτορες (133–134), γηραλέον ~ γῆρας (355–356), ἀστόργοιο ~ στέργει (552–553), στήσας ~ ἄστατον (602), μάντιν ~ μαντοσύνας (613–614), σκύλακας ~ ἀποσκύλαιο (689–690), Χειροδρόποι ~ δρεπάνοιο ~ χέδροπά (752–753), πρασιῆς ~ πράσον (879), σπέρμ' ~ σπείρεα (880–882), πολυθρήνου ~ θρήνησεν (902–903).

words cited *in extenso*[7]. Furthermore, the ring structure which is characteristic for oral poetry, basically constitutes a repetition of matching words or phrases in the beginning and at the end of an inserted passage[8]. This could also inspire poets to place the same words in some distance from each other. Eventually, there are *dis legomena* in the Homeric poems as well. The unusual fact of them being doubled might have caught the philological eye of Aratus who, according to his *Vita I*, stayed for some time at the court of Antiochus in Syria to work on a recension of the *Iliad*[9]. The poet proved his keen eye for Homeric details, having noticed the acrostic ΛΕΥΚΗ in the *Iliad* (XXIV 1–5)[10]. Thus, it seems probable that Aratus and later Hellenistic poets chose this particular stylistic feature to bring more order to Homeric *embarras de richesse*. Moreover, they double not only words, but also scenes, episodes, characters and motifs[11]. The purpose of such a structure is probably based on the idea of symmetry which refers to a sense of harmonious and beautiful proportion and balance. Symmetry can be defined as the exact match in size and shape between two halves, parts or sides of something. I believe then that Nicander and other Hellenistic poets were inspired not only by Homer but derived the idea of word doubling from symmetry (συμμετρία), and combined it with the notion of rhythm (ῥυθμός), especially that the word means symmetry too (e.g. Pl. *Leg*. 728 E). Combining both poetic tools, structural and rhythmic, they attempted to make their work harmonious. However, being aware of the artistic principle that ἁρμονίη ἀφανὴς φανερῆς κρείττων (Heraclit. frg. 54), they did not make it too apparent. As a result, while reading both the *Theriaca* and the *Alexipharmaca*, it is not very easy to notice that Nicander actually doubles some words.

I would like to briefly present the poetic technique of Aratus who changed the oral style and adapted it to his own demands of λεπτότης ('fineness')[12]. In the very introduction to the poem, i.e. in the so-called *Hymn to Zeus* (*Phaen*. 1–18) the repetitions, anaphoras, alliterations, cognate words and similar endings are so densely packed within the mere eighteen lines that it would be much easier to enumerate all single words than the repeated ones. Nonetheless, to show the scale of this stylistic feature, I have listed the echoed words (verse numbers in brackets): Διός ~ Διός ~ Διός (1, 2, 4), ἄνδρες ~ ἀνδράσιν (1, 13), μεσταί ~ μεστή (2, 3), πᾶσαι ~ πᾶσαι ~ πάντη ~ πάντες ~ πάντα ~ πάντα ~ πᾶσαι ~ πᾶσαν (2, 3, 4, 4, 9, 13, 17, 18), ἀνθρώπων ~ ἀνθρώποισιν (3, 15), γένος

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[7] To read more on the subject, see for instance most recently Beck 2021.

[8] Edwards 1991: 46.

[9] Kidd 1997: 5.

[10] Jacques 1960: 51, Kidd 1997: 446, etc.

[11] Żybert 2019: 187–188; note that there are doubled motifs and characters in Nicander's poems as well, e.g. the Alcibius episode: see Overduin 2013: 105–109.

[12] On Aratus' λεπτότης see Danielewicz 2015: 388, n. 2.

~ γενεή (5, 16), δεξιά ~ δεξιαί (6, 8), σημαίνει ~ σήματ' ~ σημαίνοιεν (6, 10, 12), λέγει ~ λέγει (7, 8), ὧραι ~ ὡράων (8, 13), φυτά ~ φύωνται (9, 13), ἄστρα ~ ἀστέρας ~ ἀστέρας (11, 12, 17), μάλιστα ~ μάλα (12, 17), πρώτον ~ προτέρη (14, 16), χαῖρε ~ χαίροιτε (15, 16). Such recurring words, sometimes exactly the same, sometimes used in different grammatical forms, appear throughout the poem, including the famous passage (783–786) where the adjective λεπτή appears twice and additionally once as an acrostic[13]. Nicander, who imitated Aratus[14], also used the echo effect to enhance the melodiousness of both epics. However, in the beginning of the *Theriaca* which openly alludes to Hesiod's poems (Nic. *Ther*. 11–12), and at the same time bears resemblance to Aratus' *Phaenomena* both in length (*Phaen*. 18 lines ~ *Ther*. 20 lines) and vocabulary[15], Nicander uses the technique in a more subtle way, repeating only three pairs of cognate words: ἀροτρεύς ~ ἀροτρεύοντι (4, 6), Τιτήνων ~ Τιτηνίς (10, 13), σκορπίον ~ σκορπίος (14, 18 *eadem sede*). It does not mean that he diminishes the scale of duplication altogether. On the contrary, doublets placed close to each other appear regularly throughout the text, sometimes reaching a crescendo as in lines 369–389: νέμοις ~ νείμειας (369, 386), τήξας ~ τηκομένη (369, 387), πολλάκι ~ πολλάκι ~ πολλάκι (370, 380, 385), ἀμύνει ~ ἤμυνεν ~ ἤμυνεν (371, 388, 389), διεχεύατο ~ χεύει (373, 381), στομάτεσσιν ~ στόμα ~ στόμα (377, 379, 384), ἀχθόμενος ~ ἀχθόμενος (379, 382). It is worth emphasising that some words from the above passage have their doublets earlier in the text while others continue to echo later on. Apparently, Nicander noticed and understood the Aratean technique of repeating sounds, and used it himself in the *Alexipharmaca* to make the sounds reverberate in readers' minds.

These are repetitions perceived instantly during reading. Generally, they are not doublets, but two or more verbs, adjectives or adverbs which are sometimes the same, and sometimes take different grammatical forms. There are also parallel words placed in some distance from each other. It is worth noting that pairs of words or phrases appear in the *Phaenomena* too. However, they are not so densely packed in the text as in the *Alexipharmaca*. For instance, two nouns: ἄγυια and ἀγορά which are situated close to each other (line 2 and 3, respectively) are used again later in line 106. Moreover, in the ending apostrophe to the Muses there is an adjective μειλίχιος (17) which occurs within the similar distance of a hundred of lines (119), etc.[16] Consequently, it seems that in Aratus' and Nicander's didactic poems, pairs of identical or cognate words constitute

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[13] Jacques 1960: 48–61; Kidd 1997: 446; Danielewicz 2005 and 2015.

[14] Magnelli 2010: 219, Overduin 2014: 50–51, 60–61.

[15] Overduin 2014: 192.

[16] For instance: ἄξος (22, 525) // μουνάξ (119, 194) // ἔμπαλιν (30, 908) // ψεύδω (35, 333) // σχεδόν (33, 885) // ἐπίκλησι καλέυσιν (36, 554) // δυοδεκάς (555, 703) // κρόταφος (56, 60) // νεάτῃ ἐπιτείνεται οὐρῇ (49) ~ νεάτης ἀποτείνεται οὐρῆς (184) // ναυτίλλομαι (44, 425), etc.

structural axis around which multiple repetitions of similarly sounding words are entwined.

I analysed the beginning and the end of the *Alexipharmaca* to show which words Nicander actually doubles. I also undertook to explain his poetic intent. Firstly, I chose to analyse lines 1–42, because the first pair of the same word (13 ἀκόνιτον ~ 42 ἀκόνιτον) which constitutes a kind of ring composition enclosing a passage about the plant, appears within them. Secondly, I interpreted the ending lines of the poem (611–628) in the light of Nicander's word pairing technique, and I made an attempt to support Enrico Magnelli's claim that they are not an interpolation[17].

There are 27 words in the opening 42 lines of the *Alexipharmaca* which have a pair later in the text. That gives an approximate result of one paired word in one and a half line. They are: ἐνιχρίμπτω (5, 218) // ὀμφαλόεις (7, 348) // ἦχι (7, 302) // Ῥείη (7, 217) // θαλάμη (8, 449) // ἀκόνιτον (13, 42) // ὄχθη (13, 152) // ἄστυρον (15, 131) // ἐπιδάκνομαι (19, 120) // νείαιρα (20, 270) // κραδίη (21, 212) // βροτός (23, 628) // ἐμφέρω (23, 471) // ἤλιθα (25, 140) // ἔνερθε (26, 209) // ὀμφαλὸν ἴζει (26, 346) // διπλόος (28, 153) // ἀγριόεις (30, 604) // ὀπώρη (30, 180) // τιθηνός/τιθήνη (31, 419) // θωρήσσω (32, 225) // ὄθμα (33, 243) // μυοκτόνος (36, 305) // ἀνιγρός (36, 627) // παμπήδην (37, 526) // θήρ (38, 345) // νέμος (40, 447).

The density and variety of parallel words in the first forty lines of the poem give the impression that Nicander intentionally presented there a wide spectrum of doublets used in the *Alexipharmaca*. They are mostly uncommon words, including *hapax legomena*, rare grammatical forms and peculiar epithets put into an unexpected context. It seems that by doubling them, Nicander intended to manifest his debt to predecessors and to emulate them, simultaneously reworking the oral tradition. Apart from engaging in the dialogue with earlier literature through the medium of characteristic or peculiar words, he also played with their explicit and implicit meanings that point at pairs of objects. The most evident example is the adjective διπλόος (28, 153), literally meaning 'double'. However, there are also two others: ὄθμα 'eyes' (33, 243) and ὄχθη 'river banks' (13, 152) which are natural pairs. To underline the implication, in the same line 28 where διπλόος is placed, he uses another word meaning 'eyes' (ὄσσε) which additionally is a dual. Furthermore, Nicander continues to play with double meanings and doubling of words using yet another one, αὐγή, firstly as 'the light of the sun' (61, 229), secondly as 'eyes' (442, 501). Consequently, it does not seem accidental that διπλόος, ὄθμα and ὄχθη are doubled again in the *Theriaca* (respectively: 278, 650; 178, 443; 11, 607), but rather that Nicander intentionally repeats the doublets of significant meaning to draw readers' attention to this specific stylistic device. Significantly, the same refers to a close repetition of three pairs of compound words: ἀμφίσβαινα (*Ther*. 372, 384),

[17] Magnelli 2006: 196–197; 2010: 217–220.

ἀμφικάρηνος/ἀμφικαρής (*Ther*. 373, 812) and ἀμφοτέρωθεν (*Ther*. 374, 813). The prefix ἀμφί, meaning 'on both sides', appearing in three consecutive lines surely must have been noticed by anyone who saw it.

Another example of Nicander's technique is closely connected to the ring composition. The word ἀκόνιτον appears twice in lines 13 and 42 of the *Alexipharmaca*, consequently framing the passage about the plant. That could be another clue pointing at the oral origin of pairing the words. In this light, parallel words would be a tool adding more coherence to the poem, together with other doubled words which, placed in the same form and metrical position, could function as a kind of structural markers, e.g. Ῥείη (7, 217), ἐπιδάκνομαι (19, 120) and the phrase ὀμφαλὸν ἴζει (26, 346). Two other words enhance the inner structure based on doublets: ἀνιγρός (36; 627) and βροτός (23, 628), both of which appear in the beginning and at the end of the *Alexipharmaca*. In this case Nicander manifests his poetic prowess using a *variatio* technique of reverse analogy linking the noun βροτός firstly to δαίς 'food', secondly to πῶμα 'drink'. It highlights his artistic ambition, at the same time attracting readers' attention to pairs of words functioning here as stylistic 'seams' joining the whole poem together. Moreover, the adjective ἀνιγρός is first attested in Callimachus' *Aetia*, where it might have appeared twice (*Aet*. frg. 75, 14; 85, 12 Pfeiffer; Harder)[18]. Another Callimachus' *primum dictum* (Callim. *Hec*. 69; 71 Hollis; *Aet*. frg. 11, 5; 43, 73; 75, 74 Pfeiffer; Harder) doubled by Nicander is ἄστυρον (15, 131), a diminutive form of ἄστυ. However, there was also a Mysian town called Asturon (Hdn. Gramm. *Vers*. p. 387 Studemund) near Troas, and thus not very far from Heraclea Pontica. As the noun refers to the latter, Nicander probably played with the fact that both cities were situated relatively close to each other, and, trying to emphasise his geographic knowledge, he emulated Callimachus. On the other hand, Nicander himself was inventive as regards word-formation and coined numerous words[19], among them a compound μυοκτόνος used twice in the *Alexipharmaca* (36, 305). It is worth underlining that coining compound words is another stylistic feature of Hellenistic poems, most notably of Lycophron's *Alexandra*[20], so it can be presumed that Nicander was also inspired by it. Furthermore, some pairs of words in the *Alexipharmaca* were used before by Homer and then other writers, especially Hellenistic poets. For instance, the first word of the first pair in the *Alexipharmaca* is ἐνιχρίμπτω (5, 218), 'bring near to', a variant of ἐγχρίμπτω, which is a Homeric word, used several times in the *Iliad*. Interestingly, ἐνιχρίμπτω, chosen by Nicander[21],

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[18] See Barber, Maas 1950: 168; Harder 2012: vol. I, 263; Harder 2012: vol. II, 598.

[19] See Jacques 2002: XCIX–CI and 2007: XCVII–CI; Overduin 2014: 64–66.

[20] See Pellettieri 2021.

[21] Note that there are other verbs with this prefix in both poems by Nicander: ἐνιτρέφω (*Ther*. 111, 279), ἐνισκίμπτω (*Ther*. 140, 336), ἐνιχραύω (*Ther*. 277), ἐνιτρίβω (*Ther*. 539, *Alex*.

appears in the *Iliad* (Hom. *Il*. XVII 405) too, but only once. Other Hellenistic poets tended to choose this particular form of the verb, most probably because of their predilection for *hapax legomena*[22]. Apollonius for instance used it four times in the *Argonautica* (I 1259, II 398, IV 939, IV 1512), perhaps purposely repeating the pair. Another Homeric *hapax* (Hom. *Od*. V 432) is θαλάμη (Nic. *Alex*. 8, 449), meaning generally 'lair' or 'den', in the *Odyssey* of a polypus. However, Nicander opts for less common meanings, namely 'cave' and 'hive'. It seems that at the same time he alludes to Euripides, who probably imitated Homer using the feminine form of the θάλαμος five times, for example to define Trophonius' cave (Eur. *Ion* 394), a cult site that shares similarities with Rheia's shrine mentioned in line 8 of the *Alexipharmaca*. Moreover, in the *Theriaca* Nicander picks the word implying a specific meaning of a snake's den (Eur. *Ph*. 931 ~ Nic. *Th*. 284), so possibly he uses a window allusion, imitating Euripides' choice of the rare Homeric form[23] and simultaneously pointing at the original hypotext.

As far as Hellenistic doublets are concerned, there is νείαιρα (20, 270) that appears as an adjective in the *Iliad* (Hom. *Il*. V 439, etc.), and then as a part of a doubled epithet in the *Phaenomena* (206, 576: γαστέρι νειαίρῃ). A meaningful example is another pair of τιθηνός/τιθήνη (31, 419) that is used also as a doublet in Lycophron's *Alexandra* (138, 1398)[24] where there are nearly 200 other parallel words. I would venture to say that Nicander deliberately picks this particular word of both feminine and masculine form to mark his ability to detect the hidden stylistic tool used by Lycophron. Furthermore, for a very common noun, θήρ (38, 345), in line 38 Nicander prefers an epic form θήρεσσι(ν) that appears twice in the *Odyssey* (V 473, XIV 21), and also twice in the *Argonautica* (I 1251, IV 672). It is worth noting that another noun ending with a dative suffix -εσσι(ν) is νεμέεσσι, used twice too (40, 447). However, this form is Nicander's *primum dictum*, attested only in the *Theriaca* and the *Alexipharmaca*, thus it is probably his invention. Another paired word, a Homeric adjective ὀμφαλόεις (7, 348) was used earlier in the *Iliad*, mostly in the context of a round shield (ἄσπις ὀφαλόεσσα, Hom. *Il*. VI 118, etc.). The discrepancy between the stock Homeric epithet and a 'mountain' and a 'fig' that it describes in the *Alexipharmaca* marks the novelty of Nicander's use, especially since the first example is puzzling, because it can refer either to a mountain at Cyzicus[25] or to the constellation of Ursa

608), ἐνισκάλλω (*Ther*. 694), ἐνισκήπτω (*Ther*. 724), ἐνιθνήσκω (*Ther*. 816), ἐνικνήθω (*Ther*. 911), ἐνιπλήσσω (*Alex*. 598), and last but not least ἐνικατατίθημι (*Alex*. 616) which I will discuss later. It is also worth noting that two of them are doublets in the *Theriaca*, while one appears in both poems.

[22] Overduin 2014: 69–70.

[23] On the use of Homeric *hapax leogomena* in the Classical period see Nelson 2021: 119–157.

[24] Żybert 2019: 203.

[25] Gow, Scholfield 1953: 190.

Maior[26], so it commands readers' attention in the very beginning of the poem. An adjective of a similar ending is ἀγριόεις (30, 604) coined by Nicander[27] who uses it in two meanings: 'wild' and 'maddening'. It is another example of adjectives with -ηεις/-οεις suffixes, which are abundant in both the *Alexipharmaca* and the *Theriaca*[28]. Some of them are apparently neologisms, like ἀγριόεις and another coined and doubled adjective κληματόεις (95, 530). There are also words with -ηεις/-οεις endings in Callimachus' *Hecale*, including *prima dicta* and *hapax legomena*[29], which could point at greater inclination of Hellenistic poets towards this particular word formation. As Albert W. James noticed, Nicander uses no less than 110 adjectives of this kind, of which 58 are found nowhere else[30]. That is a clear sign that Nicander, a pious acolyte of the Alexandrian poetics, perhaps wanted to excel in imitation of this stylistic feature too eagerly. In addition, he manifests a predilection for pairing adverbs. For instance, he picked the Homeric (*Il*. I 607, etc.) ἦχι (7, 302) used twice in the *Argonautica* by Apollonius (III 162, 925) as well. Callimachus also decided to use it in his *Aetia* (frg. 119; 186, 9 Pfeiffer; Harder) and *Hecale* (frg. 62; 102 Hollis), but although the word appears in each of the poems twice, due to their fragmentary state it is impossible to say if it was meant as a doublet. The penchant for pairing adverbs may have been inspired by Aratus who notoriously doubled them in the *Phaenomena*[31]. Consequently, Callimachus could have paired ἦχι as well, especially since he appreciated λεπταὶ ῥήσιες of the *Phaenomena* (Callim. *Epigr*. 27 Pfeiffer = *Anth. Pal.* IX 507). It is worth mentioning that there are more Homeric adverbs in the beginning of the *Alexipharmaca*: ἤλιθα (25, 140) used by Hellenistic poets (e.g. Ap. Rhod. III 342; Callim. *Hymn.* 5, 124; Arat. 124, etc.), and ἔνερθε (26, 209), but also παμπήδην (37, 526), a rare variant of πάμπαν that appears almost exclusively in tragedy (Aesch. *Pers*. 729; Soph. *Aj*. 916, etc.). All in all, it seems that most of the doubled words not only form a latent structure of the *Alexipharmaca*, but also manifest Nicander's ambition to engage in manifold dialogue with literary tradition.

Now I would like to discuss the authenticity of lines 611–628 of the *Alexipharmaca* which contain two passages about a yew and fungi. Since Otto Schneider's edition of 1856 they were treated as an interpolation, mainly due to their brevity and lack of elements that appear in other passages describing

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[26] Jacques 2007: 60.

[27] Jacques 2007: XCVIII.

[28] James 1970: 220; Jacques 2002: C and 2007: XCVIII–XCIX; Overduin 2014: 66.

[29] Hollis 2009: 253.

[30] James 1970: 220.

[31] E.g. ἄλλυδις ἄλλοι ~ ἄλλυδις ἄλλη (19, 68) // ἔμπαλιν (30, 908) // σχεδόν (33, 885) // ἀμφαδόν (64, 95) // μουνάξ (119, 194) // ἀγεληδά (965, 1079) // ἄγχι (254, 403) // ἄδην (703, 1049) // ἄλλοθι (540, 804), etc.

poisonous substances[32]. Andrew S. Gow and Alwyn F. Scholfield accepted their predecessor's doubts[33], and so did Jean-Marie Jacques, who rejected the lines for being apocryphal, although in his edition only lines 616–628 were marked as dubious[34]. However, Enrico Magnelli recently claimed that lines 616–628 were perfectly authentic. To support his opinion he pointed at Nicander's intertextual play with Callimachus, especially with his *Hymn to Artemis* (Callim. *Hymn.* 3, 189–203) and two passages from the *Aetia* (frg. 75, 54–55 and frg. 100–101b Harder). According to Magnelli, such an allusion would form a ring composition to both the *Theriaca* and the *Alexipharmaca* considered as a diptych, as the former begins with staging Hesiod and Aratus as Nicander's models in the genre of didactic poetry, while the latter closes with references to Callimachus as a model of style and refinement[35]. I find his arguments persuasive, considering that it would not be the first example of a very short end of the epic. For instance, Apollonius' *Argonautica*, one of the sources of inspiration for Nicander[36], ends in just nine lines prompting Moses Hadas to call it "the most abrupt stop in literature"[37]. More importantly though, Magnelli's claim can be strengthened by appearance of many parallel words in both passages considered spurious. First of all, as it has already been mentioned, there are two doublets: ἀνιγρός (36, 627) and βροτός (23, 628) that link together the opening and ending of the *Alexipharmaca*. Apart from them there are also: χαλικρότερος (59, 613) // ἐπαλθήω (395, 614) // ἴσθμια καὶ φάρυγος στεινὴν ἐμφράσσεται οἶμον (191, 615) // βύβλος/βίβλος (362, 616) // ἼΙμβρασίς/Ἰμβρασίη (150, 619) // ὀθόνη (323, 625) // σχοινώδης/σχοινίς (152, 625) // λεαίνω (201, 624) // ἐν κυρτίδι θλίψαις ~ κύρτῃ ἐκθλίψας (493, 625) // κύαθος (58, 626) // Ἰδαῖος (220, 621) // εὐαλθής (326, 622) // ὄνειαρ (426, 622).

To further accentuate the novelty of the chosen words, Nicander played with their grammatical forms, for instance using χαλικρότερος which is an irregular comparative of irregular χαλίκραιος that appears in the *Alexipharmaca* as well (29). Interestingly, χαλίκραιος is Nicander's *hapax*, while χαλικρότερος – a *dis legomenon*, so it seems plausible that Nicander coined both forms of the adjective. Another *hapax* is ἐπαλθέω (395, 614) that additionally has its "echo word" εὐαλθής (326, 622) only six lines away. Moreover, Nicander makes a singular ὀθόνη (323, 625) of a Homeric plural noun and instead using it in the meaning of traditional women's dresses (Hom. *Il*. XVIII 595), he opts for the sense of

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[32] Schneider 1856: 156–160, 310–311.

[33] Gow 1951: 117, Gow, Scholfield 1953: 132–136, 200.

[34] Jacques 1955: 34 and 2007: 246.

[35] Magnelli 2006: 196–197 and 2010: 217–220.

[36] Overduin 2014: 71–74.

[37] Hadas 1959: 53.

a cloth for straining liquids through. There is also a whole hexameter ἴσθμια καὶ φάρυγος στεινὴν ἐμφράσσεται οἶμον repeated twice. Note that there is a whole doubled line in the *Theriaca* (28, 489) as well, and that was the reason why it was considered suspicious by Otto Schneider and A.S.F. Gow and A.F. Scholfield, but restored by J.-M. Jacques and F. Overduin[38]. I agree with the latter editors and believe that both repeated lines are authentic because they follow Nicander's pattern of duplicate words and phrases, especially since duplication of a whole hexameter may also be a reworking of Homeric oral technique, because the exact same lines were used twice in Homer's epics too[39]. However, Nicander doubled only one hexameter in each of his poems, bringing symmetry and order to Homeric technique. Two other facts seem to support the assumption that the line is not spurious: words ἐμφράζω and οἶμος only appear twice in the *Alexipharmaca*, while οἶμος is additionally used twice in the *Theriaca* (267, 819). It is worth emphasising that the latter is significant for the Hellenistic poetics, since it appears in Philitas' programmatic epigram (frg. 8 Lightfoot) and then in no less programmatic introduction to Callimachus' *Aetia* (I 27 Pfeiffer; Harder), so it seems very likely that Nicander doubled it deliberately because of its literary connotations. Moreover, he played with two words used by Herodotus: λεαίνω (201, 624) and κυρτίς ~ κύρτη (493, 625). It is worth underlining that the former is Herodotus' *dis legomenon* (Hdt. IV 122, VIII 142) while the latter is his *hapax* (Hdt. I 191), so both were definitely to Nicander's taste. He placed them close to each other to direct his readers to the hypotext more easily and showed his ingenuity in imitating the predecessor: he transformed Herodotus' κύρτη 'lobster-pot' into a sieve, and additionally coined his own competitive *hapax*, κυρτίς.

Furthermore, he created a most intricate net of allusions by means of two pairs of variant parallel words used in the passage. The first one, Ἰμβρασίς/Ἰμβρασίη (150, 619; note the parallelism with the above mentioned κυρτίς ~ κύρτη: 493, 625), constitutes a rare cult epithet of two goddesses: Hera (Ap. Rhod. I 187) and Artemis (Callim. *Hymn.* 3, 228). Nicander used the form Ἰμβρασίη (619) after his both predecessors, but also coined the variant Ἰμβρασίς (150). As a result, he imitated Apollonius but at the same time emulated Callimachus, who unexpectedly used the name in reference to Artemis, although Imbrasos was a river on the island of Samos, traditionally connected to Hera's cult. On his part, instead of changing the goddess' identity, Nicander changed the grammatical form of her epithet. Another verbal parallelism, σχοινώδης/σχοινίς (152, 625), forms two variants of common σχοίνινος; the former seems to be Nicander's coinage, while the latter was used once by Theocritus (*Id*. 23, 51). It seems hardly accidental that it appears soon after Hera's epithet Ἰμβρασίη (619 ~ 625), because the passage

[38] Schneider 1856: 220; Gow, Scholfield 1953: 36; Jacques 2002: 4; Overduin 2014: 198.

[39] Whallon 2001: 338.

where the poet used the first element of the pair (150–152), that is σχοινώδης (**Ἰμβρασίδος** γαίης χιονώδεος ἥν τε κεράστης / ἀμνὸς Χησιάδεσσιν νέον σημήνατο Νύμφαις / Κερκέτεω νιφόεντος ὑπὸ **σχοινώδεσσιν** ὄχθαις) contains also the first usage of Ἰμβρασίη in the *Alexipharmaca*. Thus, the passages are linked to each other, and it appears that Nicander, referring to former lines, makes another allusion to Callimachus who mentions both Ἰμβρασίη and Χησιάς in one hexameter of the *Hymn to Artemis* (*Hymn.* 3, 228). As a result, Nicander thickens the net of intertexts, referring to Callimachus's *Hymn to Artemis* within another allusion to the same poem (Nic. *Alex*. 618–621 ~ Callim. *Hymn.* 3, 189–203)[40]. Moreover, the poet evokes yet another work, Lycophron's *Alexandra*, where a motif of a branch entwined around legs appears (214, 1247), and where the epithet Σχοινηίς defines Aphrodite, another goddess worshipped on Samos[41] (832). Interestingly, the same goddess is mentioned in Nicander's line 620, only five lines before σχοινίς appears. There is a less obvious link to Artemis (and Callimachus again) in the *Aetia* (frg. 75, 24 Pfeiffer; Harder) as well, where the goddess is plaiting rushes (θρύον, another name for σχοῖνος), while in the next line her bath in Pathenios river is mentioned. The name is the same as of Imbrasus on Samos (Callim. frg. 599 Pfeiffer), so again we recur to Hera and her cult. Consequently, Nicander manages to condense three poems (*Hymn to Artemis*, *Argonautica* and *Alexandra*) and three goddesses (Hera, Aphrodite and Artemis) in just eight lines (*Alex*. 618–625).

All in all, there are fifteen verbal parallelisms in seventeen lines which means almost one doublet in each hexameter. Moreover, apart from two "resounding" cognate words: ἐπαλθήω (395, 614) and εὐαλθής (326, 622) there is also an echo effect in line 627: ἤ πλεῖον, πλεῖον, γὰρ ὀνήιον· οὐ γὰρ ἀνιγρόν that additionally contains *homoioteleuta* enhancing the rhythmicity and melodiousness of the hexameter. Thus, I dare say that lines 611–628 are authentic not only on intertextual, but also structural and stylistic grounds, since double words and close repetitions appear throughout Nicander's *Alexipharmaca* and *Theriaca*, constituting their characteristic feature.

There are more arguments that may support this claim. Lines 611–615 contain a passage about a yew, named σμῖλος which is a rare form of σμῖλαξ. Interestingly, before it was used by Nicander, this term also appeared in a unique pentameter from a lost poem by Callimachus, transmitted in the scholia to the *Alexipharmaca* (Callim. frg. 659 Pfeiffer = *Scholia Nic. Alex*. 611a; cf. Ael. *NA* IX 27). Taking into account Callimachus' penchant for novelty, that could be a *primum dictum* in poetry which undoubtedly may have caught Nicander's eye. Thus, it seems that he purposely chose that variant to direct the readers to his predecessor's hypotext. As the pentameter contains information about

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[40] Gow, Scholfield 1953: 200; Magnelli 2006: 197–198 and 2010: 219.

[41] Hornblower 2015: 322.

serpents that die as soon as they touch a yew, Nicander, through an allusion to Callimachus' poem, uses this particular name to evoke both a poisonous reptile and a toxic plant. As a result, the short passage becomes a kind of coda which comprises two main themes – zootoxins and phytotoxins – of both the *Theriaca* and the *Alexipharmaca*, respectively. It does not seem accidental either that the first passage about fungi (*Alex*. 521–524) depicts how they grow in vipers' lairs and absorb toxins from the reptiles, since both tales have paradoxographical character and feature both poisonous animals and plants (I leave aside as irrelevant for the purpose of this article that mushrooms and more generally fungi are classified as a kingdom separate from Plantae). Doubling of stories seems to be one more tool behind Nicander's belt that creates a structure of overarching motifs leading readers backwards, forwards and beyond the poem.

Moreover, yet another Nicander's intertextual play emphasises allusions to other Callimachean texts mentioned above: *Hymn to Artemis* and *Aetia*. Thus, Nicander managed to pack three Callimachus' works in merely seventeen lines, which apparently suggests his aesthetic model. It is worth noting that it is also the ending of yet another Callimachus' poem – the *Hymn to Apollo* – which contains his literary manifesto (*Hymn.* 2, 105–113). Therefore, Nicander probably imitated his predecessor in this aspect too, considering that both endings are similarly short and abrupt.

There is however one more allusion to Callimachus' *Aetia* noticed by Magnelli. It is in lines 616–617: καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν Νίκανδρος ἐῇ ἐνικάτθετο βίβλῳ / μοχθήεντα μύκητα... that resounds a line from the *Aetia* (frg. 75, 54–55 Harder; Pfeiffer): Ξενομήδεος, ὅς τοτε πάσαν / νῆσον ἐνὶ μνήμηι κάτθετο μυθολόγῳ. It is worth emphasising that the most important parallel between both texts is a very rare form of the verb ἐγκατατίθημι: ἐνικάτθετο (in Callimachus' work separated by the *tmesis*: ἐνὶ μνήμηι κάτθετο). It appears only four times elsewhere: Ap. Rhod. III 282, Callim. *Aet*. frg. 75, 54, Opp. *C*. III 11 and in Oppian's *scholion ad loc*., where the commentator explains the meaning of the word to indirectly prove its uncommonness. All of that may support the thesis that it is a Callimachean *primum dictum*. Nicander, as it seems, playfully[42] refers to Callimachus' inventive and no less playful poetic "footnote", turning it into a kind of *sphragis*. He imitates his predecessor's literary device, but instead of the source he used, he cites himself. Furthermore, he directs his readers to a passage in the same poem (*Alex*. 521–536), making the reference even more unusual. All of that emphasises the novelty of his "self-referring footnote" which was intended not only to amuse and surprise the reader, but also emulate Callimachus. Thus, taking into account Nicander's multi-layered intertextual play with other poets and writers, and the fact that verbal parallelisms are by no

[42] To read more on Nicander's playfulness, built mostly on the fissure between lexical play and a macabre subject matter, see Toohey 1996: 66–67.

means apparent, it would be a truly demanding task for an interpolator firstly to notice them, and secondly to use them properly considering their high number. All in all, if anyone had been able to imitate Nicander's style so ingeniously, they would have been a genuine prodigy.

APPENDIX I: DOUBLETS IN NICANDER

A. The *Theriaca*

ὀλοφώϊος (1, 327) // σίνος (1, 653) // ἀπροϊδής (2, 18) // ὀροιτύπος (5, 377) // ἀνιγρός (8, 701) // μύχατος (11, 184) // ὄχθη (11, 607) // λᾶας (18, 45) // καλάμη (25, 297) // παρέκ (26, 29) // δρυμοὺς καὶ λασιῶνας ἀμορβαίους τε χαράδρας (28, 489) // ἐπιστείβω (32, 570) // μάραθον (33, 391) // ἐπιλωβής (35, 771) // κεραίη (36, 781) // ἀσκελής (42, 278) // ἄσφαλτος (44, 525) // ἐμφλέγω/ἐνίφλέγω (45, 338) // σελάσσομαι/σελάω (46, 691) // χαλβάνη/χαλβανίς (52, 938) // χηραμά (55, 149) // ἄγλαυρος (62, 441) // πολυανθής (63, 877) // κλῆμα (72, 873) // ἀσφόδελος (73, 534) // πολυαυξής (73, 596) // στρύχνον (74, 878) // πευκέδανον (76, 82) // βαρύπνοος (76, 82) // ἄγραυλος/ἀγραυλής (78, 473) // ὄλπη (80, 97) // βάμμα (87, 622) // ἰαύω (95, 125 = Lyc. 101, 430) // τρίοδος (99, 128) // χοός (103, 619) // τετράμορος (106, 712) // ἄντλον (114, 546 = *Od*. XII 411, XV 479) // ἄκμηνος (116, 820) // ἄντομαι (118, 180) // σειρή (119, 385) // ἀλκαία (123, 225) // διψάς (125, 334) // ὑπνώω (127, 433 = *Od*. V 48, XXIV 4) // φύζω (128, 825) // ἐμφύω (131, 233) // λεπυρός (136, 803) // ἐνσκίμπτω (140, 336) // ἐμβατέω (147, 804) // μεταμώνιος (152, 737) // ἰνδάλλομαι (153, 259) // δομή (153, 259) // κύκλος (154, 954) // ἄμαθος (155, 262) // ψάμαθος (156, 313) // ἀλινδέω (156, 204) // λεπρύνομαι (156, 262) // μήρυμα (60, 265) // ἀθρέω (165, 313) // ῥέθος (165, 721) // λευγαλέος (167, 836) // σκύνιον (177, 443) // ὄθμα (178, 443) // ὑποφοινίσσω (178, 720) // προσμάσσω (181, 922) // ὑμήν (184, 193) // ἀκήριος (190, 771) // κατοικάς/κατοικίδιος (196, 558) // θέρω (199, 687) // Αἴγυπτος (200, 759) // ἀθέσφατος (201, 587) // ἄγναπτος/γνάπτω (205, 423) // βρυόεις (208, 893) // πολυδεύκης (209, 625) // ὀξυκάρηνος (223, 397) // μάσσων (224, 386) // μύουρος (225, 287) // γλῆνος/γλήνη (228, 373) // ἄντα (238, 788) // κυέω (239, 853) // ἰοειδής (243, 886) // λυγμός (245, 434) // πυρπολέω (245, 364) // ἀδρανίη (247, 745) // χάλαζα (252, 778) // ζοφοειδής/ζοφοείδελος (256, 657) // αὔω (263, 283) // ἁματροχιῇσι / τροχιῇσι [...] ἀμάξης (263, 816) // μέσατος (266, 718) // ὁδοιπλανέω (267, 915) // κακοσταθέω (269, 431) // ἀήτης/ἄημι (269, 421) // ἀεικέλιος/ἀεικής (271, 770) // αἱμόρροος (282, 305) // ἰσάζω (286, 886) // ἔμπαλιν (288, 433) // δοχμός (294, 479) // ὀκέλλω (295, 321) // ἐπιτρέχω (298, 727) // μυδόεις (308, 362) // εἰ ἔτυμον (309, 826) // ἔφηλις (333, 858) // ὀμφαλός (342, 468) // ὀλκήρης (351, 356) // φλόος (355, 392) // πυθμήν (368,

639) // τρύγη (369, 932) // ἀμφίσβαινα (372, 384) // ἀμφικάρηνος/ἀμφικαρής (373, 812) // ἀμφοτέρωθεν (374, 813) // περιστιγής (376, 749) // ῥάδιξ (378, 533) // πολυστεφής (378, 490) // κόκκυξ (380, 854) // κρυμός (382, 681) // σκυτάλη (384, 386) // ὄμβριος/ὀμβρήρης (388, 406) // ῥωγάς (389, 644) // ἀκρεμών (391, 891) // ἅρπεζα (393, 647) // δίψος (395, 774) // μίμνω (400, 720) // βούβρωστις (409, 785) // χέλυδρος (411, 414) // μετεξέτεροι (414, 588) // μολουρίς/μόλουρος (416, 491) // σπέρχω (417, 814 = Callim. *Hymn*. 4, 60, 158) // πρέμνον (418, 831 = Callim. *Hymn*. 4, 210, 322) // Πελεθρόνιον (440, 505) // κτῖλος (452, 471) // ἠνεμόεις (453, 616) // ἵπταμαι (456, 803) // ὑποδράξ (457, 765) // πτύξ (458, 804) // αὐδάω (464, 770) // ὀκριόεις/ἐποκριάω (470, 790) // οὐτιδανός (483, 385) // δίειμι (494, 837) // δρέπομαι (498, 532) // νεόκμητος (498, 707) // Χείρων (500, 501) // ἀριστολόχεια (509, 937) // ὕσγινον/ὑσγινόεις (511, 870) // ἐνερεύθω (511, 871) // θηλυτέρη (514, 858) // προσαλίγκιος (516, 739) // τριπέτηλος (522, 907) // περιβρυής (531, 841) // θύμβρα (531, 628) // Ἀλκίβιος (541, 666) // ἀκανθοβόλος (542, 869) // χαράσσω (545, 807) // ἔρκος (548, 796) // ὀλόπτω (550, 595) // νεύω (561, 762) // ἄνδιχα (562, 912) // χλοάζω (576, 917) // λῦμα (578, 919 = *Il*. I 313, XIV 171) // ἐγκατόεις/ἔγκατα (580, 692) // κύαθος (582, 603) // λίγδος (589, 618) // κουλυβάτεια (589, 851) // σώχω (590, 696) // προτέμνω (599, 643) // νάρδος (604, 937) // ἶρις (607, 937) // κύτισος (617, 944) // σίντης (623, 715) // ἄνθη (625, 826) // κόρκορος (626, 864) // πετάλειον (628, 638) // στρομβεῖον/στρόμβος (629, 884) // παρθένιος/παρθένιον (634, 863) // ἄγχουσα (636, 838) // ἰσήρης (643, 788) // ἤρυγγος (645, 949) // ἄννησον (650, 911) // ὀλκήεις (651, 908) // ἀΐσσω (658, 729) // ἀγαυρός (661, 832) // ἐπακτήρ (666, 824) // σκύλαξ (670, 689) // ῥόθος (672, 787) // σκολοπένδρειος/σκολόπενδρα (684, 812) // αἰγιαλός (704, 786) // κάμινος (707, 924) // φρίκη (721, 727) // πυρσός (739, 772) // πύθω (742, 835) // ἄζα (748, 779) // κόρση (750, 905 = Lyc. 507, 711[43]) // σφόνδυλος (781, 798) // πάγουρος (788, 800) // βροτός (815, 862) // ἀπαρίνη (850, 953) // βρυωνίς/βρυώνη (858, 939) // τρυγών (828, 829) // καυκαλίς (843, 892) // δαύκειον (858, 939)[44] // νεαλής (869, 933) // χαῦνος (879, 940) // ὑάκινθος/Ὑάκινθος (902, 905) // τύψις (921, 933)[45] // ἀσκός/ἀσκοδέτης (927, 928)

B. The *Alexipharmaca*

ἐνιχρίμπτω (5, 218) // αὐδάω (5, 560) // ὀμφαλόεις (7, 348) // ἦχι (7, 302) // Ῥείη (7, 217) // θαλάμη (8, 449) // δατέομαι (10, 345) // ἀκόνιτον (13, 42) // ὄχθη (13, 152) // ἄστυρον (15, 131) // ἐπιδάκνομαι (19, 120) // νείαιρα (20, 270) // βροτός (23, 628) // ἤλιθα (25, 140) // ὀμφαλός (26, 342) // ἀγριόεις (30,

[43] Żybert 2019: 208.

[44] Overduin 2014: 66.

[45] Overduin 2014: 65.

604)[46] // τιθηνός/τιθήνη (31, 419 = Lyc. 138, 1398)[47] // θωρήσσω (32, 225) // ὄθμα (33, 243) // μυοκτόνος (36, 305) // ἀνιγρός (36, 627) // παμπήδην (37, 526) // λιχμήμων/λιχμάομαι (37, 569) // ὑδέω (47, 525) // λιγνύς (52, 539) // χαμαίπιτυς (56, 548) // ῥάδιξ (57, 331) // κύαθος (58, 626) // χαλικρότερος (59, 613) // στρουθὸς κατοικάς (60, 535) // γέντα (62, 556α) // ἀλοιφάω (62, 556α) // θηλυτέρη (65, 583) // πυετίη (68, 323) // ἀσφαλής (73, 243) // κιρνάω (75, 328) // ῥυσαίνομαι/ῥυσαλέος (78, 181) // ἐμπλάσσω (79, 317) // ἐν κυρτίδι θλίψαις/κύρτῃ ἐκθλίψας ἰσθμός (80, 508) // ναυσιόεις (83, 482) // ἄλη (85, 124) // μυρτίνη (88, 355) // μαλάχη (92, 487) // κληματόεις (95, 530) // ἰκμήνεια/ἰκμήνη (97, 112) // ἀργήεις (98, 204) // Γερραῖος (107, 244) // ἰκμαίνω[48] (97, 112) // νείατος (120, 170) // μέσατος (121, 408) // κύστις (122, 340) // θώραξ (123, 388) // ἀήρ (127, 193) // ἀμνός (133, 151) // κόρσεα/κορσεῖα (135, 414) // χήν (136, 228) // μιαίνω (138, 259) // κλυστήρ (139, 197) // ἀμπελόεις (142, 266) // ψαθυρός (145, 552) // Ἰμβρασίς/Ἰμβρασίη (150, 619) // σχοινώδης/σχοινίς (152, 625) // ἀφραδέως (158, 502) // πάομαι (158, 312) // ἀφροσύνη (159, 312) // ἑδανός (162, 181) // ἔμπλεος (162, 164) // ὀρτάλιχος/ὀρταλιχεύς (165, 228) // νήχω (168, 590) // τρέω (174, 219) // θεσμός (177, 630) // ἀτμένιος (178, 426) // κεραίω (178, 511) // ῥοιζηδά (182, 498) // γλεῦκος (184, 299) // σφαλερός (189, 400) // ἴσθμια καὶ φάρυγος στεινὴν ἐμφράσσεται οἶμον (190, 615) // πνιχμός (190, 365) // κατηβολέω (194, 458) // ἐξερεύγομαι (196, 227) // λεαίνω (201, 624) // νεόθεν (211, 411) // ἐκρήγνυμι (211, 248) // πτοίη/πτοιητός (212, 243) // σφάλλω (213, 221) // ἔμπληκτος (213, 281) // μορέω (213, 229) // δηθάκι/δηθάκις (215, 318) // κώδεια (216, 432) // Ἰδαῖος (220, 621) // χατέω (225, 585) // μήλειος (230, 238) // μᾶλλον (239, 454) // δυσάλυκτος (251, 537) // κνηθμός (251, 422) // σπειρώδης κόρση (253, 527) // πλύμα (258, 457) // ὁμαρτῇ (261, 378) // πέλλη (262, 311) // βδάλλω/ἐκβδάλλω (262, 322) // βλάστημα/βλαστήμων (264, 468) // εὐτρεφής (268, 388) // μιγάδην (277, 349) // τυφλόω (285, 340) // πόρος (285, 316) // ὑποβρέμω/ὑποβρομέω (287, 290) // ῥόχθοισι θαλάσσης (289, 390) // στρεύγω/στρευγεδών (291, 313) // θρομβήϊον/θρόμβος (295, 373) // ῥητίνη (300, 554) // ἄνθη (305, 529) // πήγνυμι (311, 333) // πολυωπής (323, 450) // ὀθόνη (323, 625) // εὐαλθής (326, 622) // ἄδην (330, 428) // βούπρηστις (335, 346) // ἀφυσγετός (342, 584) // οἰνάς (355, 444) // βρέφος (356, 542) // νεαλής (358, 471) // χλιαρός (360, 460) // βύβλος/βίβλος (362, 616) // στρεβλός (363, 442) // ἀθροίζω (365, 508) // βρυόεις (371, 478) // θύμον (371, 451) // λυγμός (378, 580) // ἄϊδρις/ἀϊδρήεις (397, 415) // γευθμός (399, 468) // βρωμήεις (409, 486) // ἐναλδαίνω (409, 532) // κεραίη (424, 556) // ὄνειαρ (426, 622) // ἐμπλέω (426, 613) // σπόρος (427, 582) // καρδαμίς (429, 533) //

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[46] Jacques 2007: XCVIII.

[47] Żybert 2019: 203.

[48] Jacques 2007: 86, 91.

ῥάφανος (430, 527) // ῥέθος (438, 456) // τινθαλέος (445, 463) // συνομήρης (449, 607) // ἐκθερμαίνω/θερμαίνω (461, 587) // νέπους (468, 485) // τευθίς/τεῦθος (472, 472) // ῥύσις (479, 599) // πάλαι (500, 529) // προσφύω (506, 569) // ἠνεκής (517, 592) // ζύμωμα (521, 525) // δόναξ (578, 588) // κύπειρις/κύπειρον (591, 591)

APPENDIX II: DOUBLETS IN THE *THERIACA* AND IN THE ALEXIPHARMACA[49]

ἄγχι (*Th*. 57, *A*. 6) // πολύστροιβος (*Th.* 310, *A*. 6) // ἤπειρος (*Th*. 827, *A.* 10) // εἰλύω (*Th*. 754, *A*. 18) // δοχαῖος (*Th*. 618, *A.* 21) // ἀρχή (*Th.* 345, *A*. 22) // κόλος (*Th.* 260, *A*. 23) // κατὰ μέσον ὀμφαλόν ἴζει (*Th*. 468, *A*. 26) // κράς (*Th*. 324, *A*. 27) // κρόταφος (*Th*. 732, *A.* 27) // παλμός (*Th*. 744, *A*. 27) // δέρκομαι (*Th*. 451, *A*. 28) // κεραός (*Th*. 213, *A*. 31) // κῶλον (*Th.* 202, *A.* 33) // ἐρημόω (*Th*. 451, *A.* 37) // Φαλακραῖος (*Th*. 668, *A*. 40) // ἀφύσσω (*Th*. 539, *A.* 44) // μελίφυλλον (*Th*. 554, *A*. 47) // ἀειθαλής (*Th*. 564, *A*. 48) // πηγάνιον (*Th*. 531, *A*. 49) // σίμβλος (*Th*. 808, *A*. 49) // κάμινος (*Th*. 924, *A*. 51) // δίχα/δίχη (*Th*. 693, *A*. 52) // πολύκνημος (*Th*. 559, *A*. 57) // βάλσαμον (*Th*. 947, *A*. 64) // σταγών (*Th*. 624, *A*. 64) // σκίναξ (*Th*. 577, *A*. 67) // φοινήεις (*Th*. 158, *A*. 69) // στύπος (*Th*. 951, *A*. 70) // ἐπάλαλκε/ἄλαλκε (*Th.* 357, *A.* 72) // αἰγλήεις (*Th*. 656, *A*. 74) // γρώνη (*Th*. 794, *A*. 77) // ὑπναλέος (*Th*. 162, *A*. 85) // σχέδιος (*Th.* 622, *A.* 88) // κακηπελέων (*Th.* 878, *A.* 93) // πρηών (*Th*. 218, *A*. 104) // κανθαρίς (*Th*. 755, *A*. 115) // ῥώθων (*Th*. 213, *A*. 117) // γήρειον (*Th*. 329, *A*. 126) // σίαλος (*Th*. 86, *A*. 133) // λίνον (*Th*. 830, *A*. 134) // ἐμματέω (*Th*. 809, *A*. 138) // ἀφόρδιον (*Th*. 692, *A*. 140) // κεινόω (*Th*. 56, *A*. 140) // ἀλυσθαίνω (*Th*. 427, *A*. 141) // ἀρήγω (*Th*. 624, *A*. 141) // σαόω (*Th*. 878, *A.* 144) // κνημός (*Th*. 659, *A*. 149) // ὀργάζω (*Th*. 652, *A*. 155) // κόριον (*Th*. 874, *A*. 157) // παραπλήξ (*Th*. 776, *A*. 160) // ἁλιεύς (*Th*. 823, *A*. 168) // οἰωνός (*Th*. 405, *A*. 169) // ἀργεστής (*Th*. 592, *A*. 175) // αἰζηός (*Th*. 343, *A*. 176) // βέμβιξ (*Th.* 806, *A.*183) // πεμφρηδών (*Th.* 812, *A.* 183) // δαίνυμι (*Th.* 408, *A.*184) // σκοτόεις (*Th*. 249, *A*. 188) // ἐπώδυνος (*Th*. 326, *A*. 196) // δαυχμός (*Th*. 94, *A*. 199) // παρασχεδόν (*Th*. 800, *A*. 207) // μηκάζω (*Th*. 432, *A*. 214) // λώβη (*Th*. 132, *A*. 227) // ἐψία/ἐνεψιήματα (*Th*. 880, *A.* 233) // ἐναολλής (*Th*. 573, *A*. 236) // χαλκήρης (*Th*. 921, *A*. 244) // Ὕδρη (*Th*. 688, *A.* 247) // σκίλλα (*Th*. 881, *A*. 254) // λοιγής (*Th*. 921, *A.* 256) // ῥιζόθεν (*Th*. 307, *A*. 257) // πουλύγονον (*Th*. 901, *A*. 264) // πτόρθος/πτορθεῖον (*Th*. 861, *A*. 267) // τερφός (*Th.* 323, *A.* 268) // νάρθηξ (*Th*. 595, *A*. 272) // μύρτον (*Th*. 892, *A*. 275) // ἐπιφλέγω/ἐπιφλεγέθω (*Th*. 188, *A*. 282) // πετραῖος (*Th*. 790, *A*. 290) // βοσκάς (*Th*. 782, *A*. 293) // σμῆνιγξ/μῆνιγξ (*Th*. 557, *A*. 296) // πίτυς (*Th*. 842, *A*. 301) // ἀπαμέργω (*Th*. 861, *A*. 306) // κάστορος ὄρχιν (*Th*.

[49] In this appendix, I use the abbreviation *A*. for the *Alexipharmaca* and *Th*. for the *Theriaca*.

565, *A*. 307) // κνηστήρ (*Th*. 696, *A*. 308) // ἠθέω/ἀπηθέω (*Th*. 708, *A*. 324) // πρόξ (*Th*. 578, *A*. 324) // τριπλόος (*Th*. 655, *A*. 327) // κατασμώχομαι (*Th*. 860, *A*. 332) // βάτος (*Th*. 839, *A*. 332) // ὕδρωψ (*Th*. 467, *A*. 340) // περιφαίνομαι (*Th*. 169, *A*. 343) // ἀχράς (*Th*. 512, *A*. 354) // βάκχη (*Th*. 513, *A*. 354) // οὔθατα μόσχου/οὔθατα μόσχος (*Th.* 552, *A.* 358) // τρισσός (*Th*. 908, *A*. 366) // κονία (*Th*. 762, *A*. 370) // εὔκνημος (*Th*. 648, *A*. 372) // κάρφω (*Th*. 328, *A*. 383) // ἀγμός (*Th*. 146, *A*. 391) // στρόμβος (*Th*. 884, *A*. 393) // μνίον (*Th*. 787, *A*. 396) // μόχθος (*Th*. 279, *A*. 398) // ἀκτίς (*Th*. 469, *A*. 401) // θυλακίς/θυλακόεις (*Th*. 852, *A*. 403) // σμυρνεῖον (*Th*. 848, *A*. 405) // κορύνη (*Th*. 853, *A*. 409) // σκύλλω/ἀποσκύλλω (*Th*. 689, *A*. 410) // νεοθηλής (*Th*. 94, *A*. 412) // κάμπη (*Th*. 87, *A*. 413) // Περσεῖος (*Th.* 764, *A.* 429) // ἄγλις/εὐάγλις (*Th*. 874, *A.* 432) // βλέφαρον (*Th*. 331, *A*. 436) // ψυχρός (*Th*. 255, *A*. 440) // μυκτήρ (*Th*. 144, *A*. 441) // σκῆνος (*Th*. 742, *A*. 447) // ἐρείκη (*Th*. 610, *A*. 451) // φυξήλιος/φύξηλις (*Th*. 660, *A*. 472) // ἀγρώστης/ἀγρώστωρ (*Th*. 734, *A*. 473) // χολή (*Th*. 561, *A*. 473) // ζοφόεις (*Th*. 772, *A*. 474) // ἐφίζω (*Th*. 847, *A*. 478) // ἑλλέβορος (*Th*. 941, *A*. 483) // φύρμα (*Th.* 723, *A*. 485) // μαλάχη (*Th*. 92, *A*. 487) // ἀραχνήεις (*Th*. 733, *A*. 492) // τριπτήρ (*Th*. 95, *A*. 494) // παλάμη (*Th*. 381, *A*. 497) // προτύπτω (*Th*. 176, *A*. 499) // βδέλλα (*Th*. 930, *A*. 500) // ζοφερός (*Th*. 404, *A*. 501) // πρώτιστος (*Th*. 379, *A*. 505) // βορέας (*Th*. 311, *A*. 512) // βῶλος/βῶλαξ (*Th*. 174, *A*. 514) // ἀνοιδέω (*Th*. 855, *A*. 522) // φωλεύω (*Th*. 394, *A*. 523) // πυρῖτις (*Th*. 683, *A*. 531) // ἐμπρίω (*Th*. 71, *A*. 533) // σίνηπι/σίνηπυς (*Th.* 878, *A*. 533) // σαῦρος/σαύρα (*Th.* 817, *A*. 538) // σαλαμάνδρειος/σαλαμάνδρα (*Th*. 818, *A*. 538) // τρόμος (*Th.* 437, *A*. 541) // θιβρός (*Th.* 35, *A*. 555) // γέρυνος (*Th*. 620, *A*. 563) // λαιδρός (*Th*. 689, *A*. 563) // θερείω (*Th*. 124, *A*. 567) // θάψος (*Th*. 529, *A*. 570) // φῦκος (*Th*. 845, *A*. 576) // πύξος (*Th*. 516, *A*. 579) // νήχυτος (*Th.* 33, *A.* 587) // ὑποτρέφω (*Th*. 764, *A*. 589) // ἀλγινόεις (*Th*. 769, *A*. 594) // εἶλιγξ (*Th*. 247, *A*. 597) // μόλιβος (*Th*. 256, *A*. 600) // σμύρνα (*Th*. 600, *A*. 601) // ὅρμινον (*Th*. 893, *A*. 602) // ὕσσωπος (*Th*. 872, *A*. 603) // ὀρόδαμνος (*Th.* 863, *A*. 603) // ἐπαέξω (*Th*. 449, *A*. 606) // πρωτόγονον (*Th*. 553, *A.* 610) // μάρπτω (*Th*. 454, *A.* 611) // Ἥρη (*Th*. 460, *A*. 619) // στέφος (*Th*. 897, *A.* 619) // χειμέριος (*Th*. 252, *A.* 623) // κοτυληδών (*Th.* 681, *A.* 627) // Νικάνδροιο μνῆστιν ἔχοις (*Th*. 958, *A.* 630)

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THE DIALECT CHOICE IN THE EPIGRAMS ON MYRON'S *COW*[*]

by

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to analyse the choice of dialect as a literary device in the series of epigrams on Myron's *Cow*. The epigram series in the *Greek Anthology* consists of 36 epigrams with one preserved in *P. Mil. Vogl*. VIII 309. The epigrams are composed in Attic-Ionic, Doric, and also mixed dialects. I attempt to explain the probable purpose of using these dialectal forms and the intended poetic effect. Firstly, I analyse and compare probably the oldest epigrams in the series (AB 66 by Posidippus in Attic-Ionic and *HE* 88 by Leonidas in Doric), which already differ in their dialect usage. There is no easy explanation for the choice of Doric in the epigram by Leonidas. However, an analysis and comparison of the successive imitations of these epigrams may offer some answers. Perhaps the ekphrastic and bucolic nature of these epigrams plays a role here. Secondly, I present and try to explain interesting dialect choices in the five epigrams by Antipater of Sidon on Myron's *Cow*. The last part of the article is devoted to the later epigrams in this series, focusing on the choice of Doric forms and their position in the poems.

Myron's bronze sculpture of a cow was not only admired by visitors to Athens, but it also inspired numerous poets, even though we may assume that many of them had not even seen it. The statue, made in the 5th century BCE, was first displayed in Athens, probably on the Acropolis[1]. The poems on the topic form a 36 epigram-long series in the *Palatine Anthology* (IX 713–742, 793–798) and the discovery of a poem on this subject in *P. Mil. Vogl*. VIII 309 (AB 66) shed new light on studies of the sequence. In the *Anthology*, there is a make-believe chronology organised by one of the collectors, beginning with an archaising poem fashioned as an inscription on the statue[2]. Within the sequence we may notice the interesting usage of dialect forms; in some of the poems, the predominant dialect is Attic-Ionic, but many contain at least one Doric form, sometimes isolated in a different dialect context.

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[1] Cic. *Verr*. IV 135; É. Prioux, *Autour de la Vache de Myron: de l'éloge de l'opus nobile à la réflexion sur les genres et les sujets en poésie*, Aitia IX 2019, https://journals.openedition.org/aitia/3500 (access: 9.3.2022).

[2] K. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context*, Berkley–Los Angeles 1998, p. 246, n. 42.

An analysis of dialect choice in Greek literature creates various problems. The first is the reliability of the transmitted *lectiones* of dialect forms, which are particularly vulnerable to changes in the transmission of the text[3]. Secondly, it is extremely hard to correctly understand the choice of dialect in the poems, especially those by Hellenistic authors. It is also practically impossible to determine exactly how this choice was perceived by ancient readers. Attitudes towards dialect certainly changed over time, making it even harder to establish what those attitudes were in a long series such as this, written over several centuries. Although the importance of dialect forms for the meaning of poetic texts was often underestimated by editors and scholars in earlier research[4], nonetheless, in the last few decades, studies of the dialect choice in Hellenistic poetry have developed[5]. The subject of the epigram genre is treated in detail in the dissertation by Taylor Coughlan (*The Aesthetics of Dialect in Hellenistic Epigram*), which also contains a short discussion on the dialect choice in the sequence on Myron's *Cow*[6].

I will begin with a comparison of the epigrams by Posidippus and Leonidas of Tarentum, which are probably the oldest in the series[7], in which the dialect forms are already employed in different ways.

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[3] This problem is treated in A. Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes*, Oxford 1993, and, in the dialect choice context, in various papers on the topic: A. Sens, *Doricisms in the New and Old Posidippus*, in: B. Acosta-Hughes, E. Kosmetaou, M. Baumbach (eds.), *Labored in Papyrus Leaves: Perspectives on an Epigram Collection Attributed to Posidippus (P.Mil. Vogl. VIII 309)*, Washington 2004, https://archive.chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/6066.6-alexander-sens-doricisms-in-the-new-and-old-posidippus (access: 17.11.2021); L.A. Guichard, *Dialecto y género literario en los epigramas de Posidipo (P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309)*, in: J.F. González Castro, A.A. Ezquerra, A. Bernabé (eds.), *Actas del XI congreso español de estudios clásicos*, Madrid 2005, pp. 311–314; A. Sens, *Dialect in Anacreontea*, in: M. Baumbach, N. Dümmler (eds.), *Imitate Anacreon! Mimesis, Poiesis and the Poetic Inspiration in the Carmina Anacreontea,* Berlin–Boston 2014, pp. 97–98; J. Redondo, A. Sánchez i Bernet, *Dialectal Forms in Callimachus*, in: J. Redondo, A. Sánchez i Bernet (eds.), *Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Poetry: Contribution to the History of the Ancient Greek Language*, Amsterdam 2015, p. 260; D.L. Clayman, *Callimachus' Doric Graces: 15 GP = 51 Pf.*, in: E. Sistakou, A. Rengakos (eds.), *Dialect, Diction, and Style in Greek Literary and Inscribed Epigram*, Berlin 2016, pp. 23–24.

[4] A.S.F. Gow, D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams,* vol. I, Cambridge 2008, p. XLVII.

[5] Many papers focus on an individual author or poem, e.g.: Guichard, *op. cit*. (n. 3); Clayman, *op. cit.* (n. 3); K. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Meaning, Place, and Dialect in the Epigrams of Meleager*, in: R. Hunter, A. Rengakos, E. Sistakou (eds.), *Hellenistic Studies at a Crossroads: Exploring Texts, Contexts and Metatexts*, Berlin–Boston 2017, pp. 75–95; O. Tribulato, *Theocritus' Dialects*, in: P. Kyriakou, A. Rengakos, E. Sistakou (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Theocritus*, Leiden 2021, pp. 85–104. Some scholars, however, treat the dialect choice more generally, as e.g.: R. Hunter, *Speaking in Glossai. Dialect Choice and Cultural Politics in Hellenistic Poetry*, in: M. Bloomer (ed.), *The Contest of Language: Before and Beyond Nationalism*, Notre Dame 2005, pp. 187–206.

[6] T. Coughlan, *The Aesthetics of Dialect in Hellenistic Epigram*, D. Phil. thesis, University of Cincinnati 2016, pp. 355–358.

[7] For the chronology see: K. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands*... (n. 2), p. 246, n. 42; M. Squire, *Making Myron's Cow Moo?*, AJPh CXXXI 2010, p. 598.

±10 ἐδό]κησε τὸ βοίδιον ἄξιον ὁλκῆς
±14] καὶ τρισεπαργύριον
±13] χεῖρα σοφὸν χρέος εἶδ' ἐπ' ἀδόξου
±11 ἀλ]λὰ Μύρων ἐπόει.

[To the oxherd, lo,] the cow seemed worthy to pull the plough
[... ... ...] and very profitable
[but when he stretched] his hand, he unexpectedly saw a cunning trick,
[that it was not a real cow,] but Myron's own artifact.
(Posidippus AB 66, text and translation by C. Austin and G. Bastianini[8])

Οὐκ ἔπλασέν με Μύρων, ἐψεύσατο· βοσκομέναν δὲ
ἐξ ἀγέλας ἐλάσας δῆσε βάσει λιθίνῳ.

Not did Myron sculpt me. He lied. But he drove me pasturing
from the herd and bound me to a stone base.
(Leonidas *HE* 88 = *AP* IX 719[9], transl. by K. Gutzwiller)

In the preserved text of the Posidippus epigram, no Doric form is attested, but because of its fragmentary state, we cannot completely exclude the possibility that such forms were present in the poem. There is one Attic form (ἐπόει, "made") and this may have served to add a local flavour to an epigram which is supposed to be set in Athens inscribed on the work of an Athenian sculptor[10]. The phrase Μύρων ἐπόει ("Myron made it") imitates the artist's signature attested on real statues[11], and an Attic form may help to create a poetic landscape of Athens in the book epigram.

In the epigram by Leonidas of Tarentum, there are two Doric forms: βοσκομέναν ("pasturing") and ἀγέλας ("of a herd". In the genre of epigram different dialect forms have been attested since its inscribed form, and the dialect choice became a device that was eagerly used by Hellenistic epigrammatists. In his epigrams Leonidas also chooses different dialect forms, utilising all the possibilities of this poetic tool. Although he was Doric-speaking since he came from the colony of Tarentum, he may have used that dialect, but such a choice was not obligatory for him. Another southern Italian author, the poetess Nossis of Locris, chooses to write her epigrams, including a self-epitaph, in her native Doric. This is also a consciously made dialect choice, on the one hand stressing her local identity, while on the other placing herself in the tradition of female poets composing in their own languages, including Sappho, who was the most

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[8] C. Austin, G. Bastianini, *Posidippi Pallaei quae supersunt omnia*, Milano 2002, pp. 88–89.

[9] The text here and in the following epigrams: H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca*, vol. III, München 1958.

[10] G. Bastianini, C. Gallazzi, *Posidippo di Pella: Epigrammi (P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309)*, Milano 2001, p. 193.

[11] A. Sens, *The Art of Poetry and the Poetry of Art: The Unity and Poetics of Posidippus' Statue-Poems*, in: K. Gutzwiller (ed.), *The New Posidippus: A Hellenistic Poetry Book*, Oxford 2013, pp. 222–223, n. 53.

prominent[12], as well as other authors such as Erinna. That using Doric in the epigram is still a dialect choice even for a Doric-speaker is confirmed by the self-epitaph of Leonidas himself, composed in Ionic. It is a part of his self-creation on the wandering Odysseus and it underlines the loss of his fatherland as a person buried abroad[13]. In a book epigram, dialect forms may have been used to create the poetic landscape for a reader deprived, in this form, of the original context that was present in the inscribed epigram. Epigram *HE* 70 = *AP* VII 163 may serve as an example. In this poem Leonidas incorporates East Ionic forms suitable for an epitaph of a Samian woman. Therefore, in an epigram describing a sculpture displayed in Athens and made by an Athenian sculptor, the Attic form used by Posidippus is easily explained. More puzzling are the Doricisms in the epigram by Leonidas. However, it is worth noting that both words recall pastoral or bucolic[14] themes. In this epigram, as well as in the whole series, two topics that are popular in Hellenistic poetry are joined: rural representations and works of art. In the table below, I have presented the Doric forms occurring in the epigrams in the series, dividing them thematically into categories: bucolic, or art and craft, with terms concerning aesthetics listed separately[15], while in the last column, I have placed the words connected with neither of the subjects[16].

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[12] T. Coughlan, *The Poetics of Dialect in the Self-Epitaphs of Nossis and Leonidas of Tarentum*, CPh CXV 2020, pp. 612–615.

[13] *Ibidem*, pp. 619–623.

[14] For a discussion of the characteristic elements that determine the bucolic genre and the application of the adjective "bucolic" to an epigram, see K.H. Stanzel, *Bucolic Epigram*, in: P. Bing, J.S. Bruss (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram Down to Philip*, Leiden−Boston 2007, p. 335.

[15] For remarks on the terms connected with aesthetics, I would like to once again thank the anonymous referee, who reminded me also of the passage from Theocritus *Id*. 15. Aesthetics was a part of the ancient understanding of the term art, but I put it separately as the previous column is concerned more about the material aspect of art and the process of crafting. Still, the words from the field of aesthetics also represent the Doric forms in the sequence. Furthermore, all these terms, although expressed by different words, are present in the famous statement on aesthetics in Theocr. 15, 80–83, also expressed in Doric:

πότνι᾽ ᾽Αθαναία, ποῖαί σφ᾽ ἐπόνασαν ἔριθοι,
ποῖοι ζῳογράφοι τἀκριβέα γράμματ᾽ ἔγραψαν.
ὡς ἔτυμ᾽ ἑστάκαντι, καὶ ὡς ἔτυμ᾽ ἐνδινεῦντι,
ἔμψυχ᾽, οὐκ ἐνυφαντά. σοφόν τοι χρῆμ᾽ ὤνθρωπος.
αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὡς θαητὸς ἐπ᾽ ἀργυρέας κατάκειται
κλισμῶ, πρᾶτον ἴουλον ἀπὸ κροτάφων καταβάλλων,
ὁ τριφίλητος ῞Αδωνις, ὃ κὴν ᾽Αχέροντι φιλεῖται.

[16] Helpful in creating this table was Coughlan, *The Aesthetics*... (n. 6), pp. 356–357. In the sequence, the forms connected to these subjects also occur in Ionic or are dialectally ambiguous. However, I do not try to show here that the choice of Doric was obligatory for this kind of terms, rather, that when the poets decided to use the dialect choice as one of the poetic devices in their poems, they did not do it randomly, but the choice of words to add a Doric colour to the poems was also important. --- The following abbreviations are used in the table: P – codex

EPIGRAM	DIALECT FORMS GROUPED ACCORDING TO THEMATIC CATEGORIES			
	BUCOLIC	ART AND CRAFT	AESTHETICS	OTHER
IX 713 (Anonymous)				
IX 714 (Anonymous)				
IX 715 ("Anacreon")	τὰν ἀγέλαν			
IX 716 ("Anacreon")				
IX 717 (Evenus)	τᾷδ' (βοί)*		[ψυχήν PPl^{c} | ψυχάν Pl]	
IX 718 (Evenus)	ταύταν τὰν (δάμαλιν), ταύτας [ἀνεπλασάμην PPl | ἀνεπλασάμαν Page]			
IX 719 (Leonidas)	βοσκομέναν, ἀγέλαν			
IX 720 (Antipater of Sidon)	νεμόμαν	ποτὶ τᾷδε [...] πέτρᾳ		
IX 721 (Antipater of Sidon)		ἁ τέχνα		
IX 722 (Antipater of Sidon)	τὰν (δάμαλιν)			
IX 723 (Antipater of Sidon)		ἁ (μόλιβος), ἁ (λίθος), πλάστα		ἐδρεπόμαν
IX 724 (Antipater of Sidon)	ἁ (δάμαλις)			
IX 725 (Anonymous)	(βοῦν) ἰδίαν (could be interpreted as Doric or Attic)			
IX 726 (Anonymous)	ἁ (βοῦς) ἁ τίκτουσα, τὰν (βοῦν)	ἁ (Μύρωνος χείρ)		

Anthologiae Palatinae; Pl – codex *Anthologiae Planudeae*; ^{c} – *correctio*. For the *apparatus criticus*, see Coughlan, *The Aesthetics...* (n. 6), pp. 356–357.

IX 727 (Anonymous)	ἁ (κεραή – Ionic, βοῦς)			
IX 728 (Antipater)	ἁ (δάμαλις)			
IX 729 (Anonymous)		τέχνας [P | τέχνης Pl]		
IX 730 (Demetrius of Bithynia)	ἀγέλαν [P | ἀγέλην Pl]			
IX 731 (Anonymous)				
IX 732 (Marcus Argenatrius)		πλάστας [P | πλάστης Pl]		
IX 733 (Anonymous)	τὰν (βοῦν) τάνδε, [...] ἄν			ματέρα [P | μητέρα Pl]
IX 734 (Dioscorides)		βουπλάστας		
IX 735 (Anonymous)			ἀλαθείς	
IX 736 (Anonymous)				
IX 737 (Anonymous)		τέχνας [P | τέχνης P; χαλκείην PPl| χαλκείαν Jacobs]	τὰν ψυχάν [P | τὴν ψυχήν Pl]	
IX 738 (Julian, Prefect of Egypt)	(βοὶ) τᾷδ’	Τέχνα, Τέχνα		
IX 739 (Julian, Prefect of Egypt)				
IX 740 (Geminus)		τεχνίτας [P | τεχνιτής Pl] (but other forms Attic-Ionic: ἡ βάσις ἡ, ᾗ, ἀγέλην)		
IX 741 (Anonymous)		τέχνᾳ [P | τέχνα Pl]	ψευδομένα	
IX 742 (Philip)	αὐλακεργάταν [Bruck | αὐλακεργάτην Pl | αὐλακεργάτα P]	σίδαρον [PPl^{c} | σίδηρον Pl], τέχνα [P | P^{c}Pl τέχνᾳ]		ἁμῶν
IX 793 (Julian, Prefect of Egypt)				

IX 794 (Julian, Prefect of Egypt)				
IX 795 (Julian, Prefect of Egypt)	ἀγέλας		ζωάν	
IX 796 (Julian, Prefect of Egypt)		πλάστα		
IX 797 (Julian, Prefect of Egypt)				
IX 798 (Julian, Prefect of Egypt)				

* In the columns, I have also placed articles and demonstrative pronouns if they are bound to a bucolic or an art word because they have an important function in Doricising the word or the whole poems, as many of them open the poems, introducing both the predominant dialect and the main topic of the epigram (*AP* IX 722: τὰν δάμαλιν, 723: ἡ μόλιβος, 724: ἡ δάμαλις, 726: ἡ βοῦς, 728: ἡ δάμαλις, 733: τὰν βοῦν). The question of the article will also be discussed later.

Doric forms in the sequence in the *Palatine Anthology* appear in the epigrams placed before the poem by Leonidas, for example in two which are erroneously ascribed to Anacreon. Although this author's actual poems are composed in Ionic, and so too is the first part of the *Anacreontea*, the second part contains both Ionic and Doric works[17]. The Doricism in *AP* IX 715 by "Anacreon" is τὰν ἀγέλαν ("the herd"), in which, as in the epigram by Leonidas, bucolic vocabulary is used in the same dialect. The employment of different dialect forms continues through the whole series up to a late 6th-century author, Julian, Prefect of Egypt[18].

The major group of words is divided into these two categories. Doric dialect was present in the epigrams by other Hellenistic authors featuring rural themes and works of art. After Theocritus, the bucolic became associated with the Doric dialect, which also influenced the epigrams on pastoral topic[19], but this connection may have existed before[20], as the works by Anyte show. The theme of art is present in Doric epigrams by Erinna and Nossis. The former described in Doric a lifelike portrait (*AP* VI 352), while the latter, in her epigrams on votive gifts, writing in a personal poetic voice in her native dialect, took the role of a tour guide in a temple (*HE* 3–9)[21]. The Doric forms are also used in some epigrams

[17] Sens, *Dialect in Anacreontea*... (n. 3), p. 99.

[18] For the author, see A. Cameron, *Some Prefects Called Julian*, Byzantion XLVII 1977, pp. 42–64.

[19] H. Bernsdorff, *Hirten in der nicht-bukolischen Dichtung des Hellenismus*, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 91–92.

[20] Coughlan, *The Aesthetics*... (n. 6), pp. 166–167.

[21] Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands*... (n. 2), p. 83; Coughlan, *The Aesthetics*... (n. 6), p. 214.

on sculptures composed by Posidippus[22] and on a statue of Anacreon by both Theocritus and Leonidas[23]. Examples are also known from other genres: the famous ekphrasis of the tapestries in the Ptolemaic palace in Theocritus' *Idyll* 15 in Doric, as well as Callimachus' *Iambus* 6, containing a detailed, technical description of the statue of Zeus in Olympia. While this does not mean that the topic of art required the use of Doric, the examples from other Hellenistic poets show that it was not lacking in aptness either, and the dialect may have even evoked to the reader some of these poems.

Antipater of Sidon himself wrote five epigrams on Myron's *Cow*, choosing to use various dialect forms. Kathryn Gutzwiller refers to his poems as "an extended working out of the possibilities set up by Leonidas' clever poem"[24]. The author reworks the subject brought up by his predecessor, taking up the same dialect.

> Εἰ μή μου ποτὶ τᾷδε Μύρων πόδας ἥρμοσε πέτρᾳ,
> ἄλλαις ἂν νεμόμαν βουσὶν ὁμοῦ δάμαλις.
>
> If Myron had not fixed my feet to this stone,
> I would be pasturing a heifer with the other cows.
>
> (Antipater of Sidon *HE* 36 = *AP* IX 720, transl. by K. Gutzwiller)

In the two lines of the epigram, there are four Doricisms, a larger number in comparison to the rest of the series because in many poems there is only one Doric form. The Doric colour is strengthened by the choice of forms: not only is there Doric α for Attic-Ionic η in endings, articles, and pronouns, which was also the most popular way of Doricising in this series, but the poet employs more strongly dialect-specific forms, namely the preposition ποτί ("to") and the verb νεμόμαν ("to pasture"), so the Doric colour seems to be quite prominent. In this epigram, there is a visible division between the first line, which is focused on the statue and artwork, and the second, about cows and pasturing, and so the Doric forms in the poem are also separated.

> Μόσχε, τί μοι λαγόνεσσι προσέρχεαι; ἐς τί δὲ μυκᾷ;
> ἃ τέχνα μαζοῖς οὐκ ἐνέθηκε γάλα.
>
> Calf, why do you approach my flaks? Why do you low?
> Art placed no milk in my udder.
>
> (Antipater of Sidon *HE* 37 = *AP* IX 721, transl. by K. Gutzwiller)

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[22] Sens, *Doricisms*... (n. 3).

[23] I. Männlein-Robert, *Epigrams on Art: Voice and Voicelessness in Ecphrastic Epigram*, in: Bing, Bruss (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 263–265; P. Bing, *Theocritus' Epigrams on the Statues of Ancient Poets*, A&A XXXIV 1988, pp. 117–120.

[24] Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands*... (n. 2), p. 247.

In this poem, the only Doricism is ἁ τέχνα ("the art"), as in the other epigrams of the series: τέχνας ("of the art") in *AP* IX 729, and in *AP* IX 740 τεχνίτας ("artisan"). In the last of them, this word is a Doric form despite the predominant Attic-Ionic dialect in the epigram and it seems to stress the main theme of the poem, which I will return to later. The next epigram by Antipater is one of the few epigrams in the series that do not mention Myron's name or even make reference to the sculpture.

Τὰν δάμαλιν, βουφορβέ, παρέρχεο μηδ' ἀπάνευθε
συρίσδῃς· μαστῷ πόρτιν ὑπεκδέχεται.

Pass by the heifer, cowherd, and don't pipe to her
from afar. She has a calf at her udder.

(Antipater of Sidon *HE* 38 = *AP* IX 722, transl. by K. Gutzwiller)

The subject of the epigram is understandable only because it is placed within the sequence, as without the context it seems to be only a bucolic epigram about a real, living cow. The poem begins with a Doric form, τὰν δάμαλιν ("the heifer"), which already gives a hint of what to expect in the rest of the poem. The poem does not contain any words related to the topic of art and does not reveal that in fact the object of the poem is not a real animal but a sculpture. For this reason the epigram is closer to the rural Doric representations by Anyte and Theocritus and seems to be merely a poem on a bucolic topic. As in the epigram by Leonidas, in which the artist is a liar, here the poet himself became a fraud, deceiving the reader by describing the sculpture as if it were a real cow. K. Gutzwiller shows how imitations by Antipater could be read in the order transmitted by the *Palatine Anthology*[25]. The epigram *AP* IX 722 clearly contrasts with those immediately before and after it in the series. While this one is strongly bucolic in its topic, the other two focus on art; *AP* IX 721 with the Doric term ἁ τέχνα ("art") underlining it, and *AP* IX 723 with, as we will see, its Doric technical vocabulary denoting materials out of which the sculpture was made.

Ἁ μόλιβος κατέχει με καὶ ἁ λίθος· εἵνεκα δ' ἂν σεῦ,
πλάστα Μύρων, λωτὸν καὶ θρύον ἐδρεπόμαν.

The lead and stone bind me fast; but thanks to you, sculptor Myron,
I would otherwise be feeding on clover and rush.

(Antipater of Sidon *HE* 39 = *AP* IX 723, transl. by K. Gutzwiller)

This epigram, too, begins with a Doric form, this time a technical term, ἁ μόλιβος ("the lead"), for the material related to the production of a sculpture,

[25] Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands*... (n. 2), pp. 247–249.

just like the next Doricism, ἁ λίθος ("the stone"). Interestingly, Antipater chose the feminine forms of both words. Ἡ λίθος is rare, but is attested twice in Homer[26] and then in later poetry[27]. However, ἡ μόλιβος seems not to have been used elsewhere and therefore it may have been the poet's choice to use the nouns in the feminine gender to display the Doric article. Also, the third Doric form, πλάστα ("sculptor"), is connected with the theme of art. Technical vocabulary in Doric is also present in the Doric *Iambus* 6 of Callimachus, which combines the elements of propempticon and ekphrasis of the work of art, the statue of Zeus in Olympia, focusing on a detailed technical description.

Ἁ δάμαλις, δοκέω, μυκήσεται· ἦ ῥ' ὁ Προμηθεὺς
οὐχὶ μόνος, πλάττεις ἔμπνοα καὶ σύ, Μύρων.

The heifer, I think, will low. It is not Prometheus alone
who sculpts living creatures, but you too Myron.

(Antipater of Sidon *HE* 40 = *AP* IX 724, transl. by K. Gutzwiller)

Here again, the Doric ἁ δάμαλις ("the heifer") is the first word, as above in *AP* IX 722 and then in IX 728, and, as in *AP* IX 726 and IX 733, the first words are also the Doric forms of the word for a cow, ἁ βοῦς and τὰν βοῦν τάνδε. It might not be irrelevant that in this context the Attic form πλάττεις ("you mould") was placed next to the name of the Athenian artisan, Myron, in a question addressed to him. This Atticism is placed in the last line and it is referring to the Athenian sculptor Myron, just as in the epigram by Posidippus. The name of the sculptor as the last word in the last line was meant to highlight the first syllable Μύ-, imitating a cow's lowing, which is mentioned in the first verse (μυκήσεται), to add a special euphonic effect to the poem[28]. Also, the vowel α was considered especially euphonic and beautifully sounding[29], so placing the Doric article ἁ here underlines the following δάμαλις, making this vowel prominent in the very opening of the poem. The name of Prometheus is invoked in a similar way in the epigram *AP* VI 352 by Erinna on the lifelike portrait of Agatharchis.

Ἐξ ἀταλᾶν χειρῶν τάδε γράμματα· λῶστε Προμαθεῦ,
ἔντι καὶ ἄνθρωποι τὶν ὁμαλοὶ σοφίαν·
ταύταν γοῦν ἐτύμως τὰν παρθένον ὅστις ἔγραψεν,
αἰ καὐδὰν ποτέθηκ', ἦς κ' Ἀγαθαρχὶς ὅλα.

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[26] *Il*. XII 287; *Od*. XIX 494.

[27] Theocr. *Id*. 7, 26; Bion fr. 4, 2 Gow.

[28] Squire, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 612.

[29] W.B. Stanford, *Greeks Views on Euphony*, Hermathena LXI 1943, p. 7.

> This picture is the work of delicate hands; so, good Prometheus, there are men whose skill is equal to thine. At least if he who painted this girl thus to the life had but added speech, she would be, Agatharchis, your complete self.
>
> (Erinna *HE* 3 = *AP* VI 352, transl. by W.R. Paton)

It states that the painting is proof that men are equal in skill to the Titan and the only thing that the work of art lacks is a voice, which in the epigram by Antipater is about to be heard, because the cow will low (μυκήσεται). The poetess' epigram is composed in Doric, and even the name of Prometheus, Προμαθεῦ, is Doricised. Erinna is known for the use of Doric and Aeolic in her works, as we learn from *Suda* Η 521, and she may have been an inspiration for the introduction of the dialect colour to poems by other Hellenistic authors, such as Callimachus and Theocritus[30]. Therefore, the choice of Doric in this epigram (*AP* IX 724) may have evoked both the Leonidean model and the epigram by Erinna, an author praised by Hellenistic poets.

In some poems, the dialect is not homogeneous; for example, in the Attic-Ionic context, there is an isolated Doric form.

> Ἡ βάσις ἡ κατέχουσα τὸ βοίδιον, ᾗ πεπέδηται·
> ἢν δ' ἀφεθῇ ταύτης, φεύξεται εἰς ἀγέλην.
> μυκᾶται γὰρ ὁ χαλκός· ἴδ', ὡς ἔμπνουν ὁ τεχνίτας
> θήκατο· κἂν ζεύξῃς ἄλλον, ἴσως ἀρόσει.
>
> It is the base to which it is attached that keeps back the heifer, and if freed from this, it will run off to the herd. For the bronze lows. See how much alive the artist made it. If you yoke a fellow to it, perhaps it will plough.
>
> (Geminus *HE* 5, *AP* IX 740, transl. by W.R. Paton)

The Attic-Ionic is predominant in this epigram, which is highlighted by the repeated article and the relative pronoun (ἡ... ἡ... ᾗ) in the opening line, and the only Doric form is ὁ τεχνίτας ("the artist"). Geminus, in a series of imitations mostly in Doric, seems to have deliberately chosen the Attic-Ionic forms – if we assume that the surviving forms are not the result of textual corruption. At this time, dialects were certainly not as important as, for example, in the times of Leonidas, who, moreover, was himself a native of Doric-speaking Tarentum. But even taking into account that the meaning and reception of the use of dialect in poems had changed by the time of Geminus, it still played an important role as one of the poetic devices, because it is used not only by Geminus, but even by the 6th-century author Julian, Prefect of Egypt. Another interesting word in this poem is βοίδιον ("calf, heifer"), which is itself dialectally ambiguous but is present, with only one exception, in the Attic-Ionic epigrams in the series and in the epigram by Posidippus (AB 66). In the *Palatine Anthology* sequence, these epigrams are gathered at the beginning (*AP* IX 713, 715, 716) in a make-believe

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[30] Coughlan, *The Aesthetics*... (n. 6), p. 78.

chronology by the collector, with the first of them containing a formula typical of epigraphical texts, just like Posidippus, contrasting with the later, mostly Doric, imitations. The term βοίδιον opens two of the epigrams at the beginning of the sequence[31], as later in the series the word for the cow is also the first word, but there it is used in the Doric form (*AP* IX 722, 724, 726, 728, 733).

The word ὁ τεχνίτας with its cognates, as I have mentioned before, seems to be connected to the Doric dialect, which is even more visible in *AP* IX 738. The cognates of this word in Doric are also used in other epigrams in this series: *AP* IX 738, 741, 742. As T. Coughlan notes when analysing the poems by Leonidas, the term τέχνα seems to be a kind of signature of aesthetics for this poet, who focuses on simple folk and artisans and uses this term only in Doric even in dialectically mixed contexts[32], as for example in epigram *HE* 52 he uses the words τέχνας ("of craft") and τεχνοσύνας ("of craft").

Εὐκαπὲς ἄγκιστρον καὶ δούρατα δουλιχόεντα
χὠρμειὴν καὶ τὰς ἰχθυδόκους σπυρίδας
καὶ τοῦτον νηκτοῖσιν ἐπ' ἰχθύσι τεχνασθέντα
κύρτον, ἁλιπλάγκτων εὕρεμα δικτυβόλων,
τρηχύν τε τριόδοντα, Ποσειδαώνιον ἔγχος,
καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἀκάτων διχθαδίους ἐρέτας
ὁ γριπεὺς Διόφαντος ἀνάκτορι θήκατο τέχνας,
ὡς θέμις, ἀρχαίας λείψανα τεχνοσύνας.

Diophantus the fisherman, as is fit, dedicates to the patron of his craft these relics of his old calling, his hook, easily gulped down, his long poles, his line, his creels, this weel, device of sea-faring netsmen for trapping fishes, his sharp trident, weapon of Poseidon, and the two oars of his boat.

(Leonidas *HE* 52 = *AP* VI 4, transl. by W.R. Paton)

Similar usage of Doric forms of the cognates of the word τέχνη can be observed in the epigram on the Colossus of Rhodes by Posidippus (AB 68), which, moreover, also mentions Myron.

ἤθελον Ἥλιον Ῥόδιοι π[εριμάκε]α α θεῖναι
δὶς τόσον, ἀλλὰ Χάρης Λίνδιο[ς] ὡρίσατο
μηθένα τεχνίταν ἔτι μείζονα [τ]οῦδε κ[ο]λοσσόν
θήσειν· εἰ δὲ Μύρων εἰς τετράπ[ηχ]υν ὅ[ρον
σεμνὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀνῆκε, Χάρης πρῶ[τος μ]ετὰ τέχνα[ς
ζῶιον ἐχαλχούργει γᾶς μεγ[έθει παρ]ισ[ῶ]ν.

The Rhodians wanted to make the [gigantic] Sun
twice as big, but Chares of Lindos ensured
that no artisan would build a colossus higher than this one.
If Myron managed to reach the limit of four cubits

[31] F. Conca, M. Marzi, G. Zanetto, *Anthologia Palatina*, vol. 2, Torino 2009, p. 571.

[32] Coughlan, *The Aesthetics*... (n. 6), pp. 305–306.

– he, the venerable fellow –, Chares was the first with art
to make a bronze figure [to match the magnitude] of the earth.
(Posidippus AB 68, text and translation by C. Austin and G. Bastianini)

The epigram opens with the Ionic form Ἠέλιον ("Sun") as the second word of the poem, but then the Doric forms dominate (τεχνίταν, τέχνα[ς], γᾶς)[33]. Luis Arturo Guichard notices here the opposition of the Ionic Sun in the first line and the Doric earth in the last; the semantic contrast between these two terms is underlined by the usage of dialect forms[34]. Two of the Doricisms are cognates of the word τέχνη, and it is interesting that in the epigrams by Posidippus, the only two sections that contain poems in which Doric is predominant are on equestrian victories[35] and, what is significant here, on the sculptures; generally, the dialect choice in these two sections is particularly varied in comparison to other topics treated by Posidippus[36].

In a similar way, the word τέχνη is used by the authors in the sequence on Myron's *Cow*, underlining by means of the Doric forms the main topic of their epigrams. Within the series, some words are repeated particularly often, focusing on the lifelikeness of the sculpture or the artistry of Myron[37], and this last aspect is highlighted by the use of Doric in cognates of the word τέχνη throughout the whole series, with the exception of some epigrams by the last author of the series, Julian, Prefect of Egypt. In his epigrams, Attic-Ionic as well as Doric forms are present, the word τέχνη is also used in both dialects, and if this is not due to the manuscript tradition, it was probably his choice to emphasise different aspects in each of his imitations, because, like Antipater, he wrote more than one epigram on the topic. Although the word τέχνη in the epigrams of Julian, Prefect of Egypt is not always Doric, he still uses the dialect colour to emphasise the main concept of the epigram.

Ἐν βοῒ τᾷδ' ἐμάχοντο Φύσις καὶ πότνια Τέχνα·
ἀμφοτέραις δὲ Μύρων ἶσον ὄπασσε γέρας·
δερκομένοις μὲν γὰρ Φύσιος κράτος ἥρπασε Τέχνα·
αὐτὰρ ἐφαπτομένοις ἡ Φύσις ἐστὶ φύσις.

Nature and Queen Art strove in the matter of this cow, and Myron gave to each a prize of equal value. When one looks at it Art robs nature of her superiority, but when one touches it Nature is nature.
(Julian, Prefect of Egypt *AP* IX 738, transl. by W.R. Paton)

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[33] Sens, *Doricisms*... (n. 3).

[34] Guichard, *op. cit*. (n. 3), p. 317.

[35] In this section, the usage of Doric is mainly explained by its connection with the Ptolemies, except for the tradition of Doric epinician lyric: Sens, *Doricisms*... (n. 3); Guichard, *op. cit*. (n. 3), pp. 318–319.

[36] Guichard, *op. cit*. (n. 3), pp. 313–315.

[37] Squire, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 589–634.

The epigram begins by mentioning the object of the sculpture, followed by a Doric demonstrative pronoun, τᾷδε. Φύσις ("Nature") which is opposed to the Doric Τέχνα ("Art") and the contrast is highlighted in the last line by the usage of a different dialect, the Attic-Ionic (ἡ Φύσις). The contraposition of these terms is part of a particular discourse of late antiquity[38].

Elisabeth Kosmatatou suggested that the multitude of epigrams on Myron's statue accumulated in the *Anthology* resemble the personal comments of people passing by[39]. In some poems the speaking voice is not defined, so it could be imagined to belong to a passer-by. In such a view, the use of Doric would be understandable, because visitors from the entire Greek *oikoumene* came to Athens, some of whom certainly spoke Doric. But in the sequence, there are many different voices, including the cow's and Myron's, and it is in these cases that the Doric is more puzzling. For example, in *AP* IX 718 the sculptor's speech is reported and the Doric forms are present in it. Maybe the dialect usage also served to surprise the reader and completely reverse what they expected. As Leonidas' epigram opens with the phrase οὐκ ἔπλασέν με Μύρων ("Myron did not mould me"), this opening is the opposite of what was usually written in such a context, because an inscription affixed to a work of art was supposed to give information who made it. Also, the message is reversed, since the epigram does not contain any praise of the artist, as is the case in standard sculpture inscription, but rather an accusation that the artist is a fraud. All this is highlighted by the use of Doric, which is quite surprising in an inscription on an Athenian sculpture. On the other hand, Doric, being the poet's mother tongue, may reveal his personal voice here, as he is abroad but still making comments on the sculpture in his native dialect. We can see a similar situation in the epigram by Theocritus on the statue of Anacreon in Teos (*HE* 15)[40]. This also creates a tension between the Attic sculpture and the Doric voice of the epigrammatist, who makes the sculpture speak. Such a dialect choice was easier to make by changing the medium of transmitting the text. It is no longer an inscription on a real statue, but a poem in a book-roll that allows the free use of all available poetic devices, including dialect choice. Works of art do not have a voice, as many epigrams on the topic notice[41], and here the sculpture not only speaks but also, even more surprisingly, does so in Doric. The effect may be similar to one seen by Alexander Sens in an epigram

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[38] *Ibidem*, p. 603.

[39] E. Kosmatatou, *Vision and Visibility: Art Historical Theory Paints a Portrait of New Leadership in Posidippus' Andriantopoiika*, in: Acosta-Hughes, Baumbach, Kosmetaou (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 3), https://archive.chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/6074.14-elizabeth-kosmetatou-vision-and-visibility-art-historical-theory-paints-a-portrait-of-new-leadership-in-posidippus%E2%80%99-andriantopoiika (access: 17.11.2021).

[40] Coughlan, *The Aesthetics*... (n. 6), p. 243, cf. p. 148; cf. Bing, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 119.

[41] Erinna *HE* 3; Call. 56 Pf.; Geminus *HE* 6; see Männlein-Robert, *op. cit.* (n. 23).

by Posidippus (AB 64) in which a sculpture of the Homeric hero Idomeneus speaks and, moreover, uses the dialect of his home region, something particularly astonishing if we take into account that in epic poetry all characters use the Epic dialect[42]. There, the dialect is connected with the place of origin, but we may wonder why in the epigram by Leonidas the cow speaks in Doric. Maybe the reason could again lie in the bucolic and rural representations, especially if the poem was composed after the *Idylls* by Theocritus when Doric became expected in the speeches and songs of a herdsman. The heifer not only speaks, but also uses exactly the same dialect as a bucolic cowherd would use. So, the epigrams try to interest and surprise the reader on all possible levels, taking part in the poetic *agon* characteristic of the sequence.

In the epigrams discussed above, we may notice how dialect served the purpose of *imitatio et aemulatio* in the series of imitations. On the one hand, authors repeated the dialect of their predecessors, while on the other hand, they used dialect forms in their own particular way. The poets usually chose words connected to bucolic and art themes, but also tried to bring something new to the sequence by selecting different terms relating, for example, to various materials used for making the sculpture, or by repeating the opening Doric form, but then changing the meaning of the rest of the epigram. Every time, it was the poet's choice whether to use dialect forms and in what way, as it offered numerous poetical possibilities both in a single poem and as a part of the whole series of imitations.

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[42] Sens, *Doricisms*... (n. 3).

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SERVIUS TULLIUS PEUT-IL ÊTRE IDENTIFIÉ À MASTARNA ?

par

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ABSTRACT: Servius Tullius is a most fascinating figure from early Roman history. Much controversy and debate has revolved around almost every aspect of his life, particularly his ancestry, ethnicity and his path to power. There are conflicting narratives even within the annalistic tradition. It should, however, be emphasised that there is a wholly different account, deriving from Etruscan sources, of who Servius Tullius was and how he came to power. Many modern scholars prefer the Etruscan version of the career of Servius Tullius to his rise to power in the Roman state. Others think that the complete rejection of Roman tradition is too radical a step. The question I try to answer in this paper is whether it is possible to reconcile the two traditions. The key to my argument is the interpretation of the paintings from the tomb François at Vulci, and in particular the scene of the fight between Marce Camitlnas and Cneve Tarchunies. Cneve Tarchunies would be brother or cousin of Tarquin the Elder, who, on the latter's death, attempted to seize power at the head of his own personal army composed of young Etruscan aristocrats. Servius Tullius and his Etruscan allies, including the brothers Vibenna, would have succeeded in bringing about his defeat and death. But this reconstruction of Servius Tullius' path to power is also only a hypothesis. Thus, the career of the penultimate Roman king remains a mystery.

Servius Tullius mérite sans nul doute d'être tenu pour le personnage le plus fascinant du panthéon des rois de Rome élaboré par la tradition annalistique[1]. Il fut considéré par la postérité comme le plus grand des rois, et son règne, comme une suite ininterrompue de succès. Les chercheurs d'aujourd'hui ont cependant un réel problème à évaluer l'avant-dernier des *reges Romae*. S'il est très probable que le personnage est historique, presque tous les faits en rapport avec lui et attestés par la tradition posent problème, à des degrés divers. Tout d'abord, c'est la chronologie de son règne qui est peu, voire pas du tout crédible. Suivant la narration des annalistes, Servius Tullius aurait eu le plus long règne de tous les rois romains, soit 44 ans, de 578 à 534. Mais selon la chronologie de la royauté

[1] T. Cornell (1995 : 119–120 ; 2014 : 252) remet en question la vraisemblance de toute la narration relative aux sept rois de Rome. Pour lui, aucun des rois de la tradition ne peut être considéré comme personnage historique à part entière, et certains d'entre eux seraient même purement mythiques, ce qui est certainement le cas de Romulus. Il pense aussi qu'il y a probablement eu d'autres rois dont les noms sont tombés dans l'oubli ou ont été omis de la liste canonique des *reges* pour diverses raisons. D'autres chercheurs, tels O. de Cazanove (1988 : *passim*), M. Pallottino (1993 : 175) et A. Koptev (2003 : 5–6) sont du même avis.

romaine révisée par C. Ampolo et T. Cornell, il est exclu que le successeur de Tarquin l'Ancien ait pu accéder au pouvoir avant 550. Sur la base de son analyse très détaillée des textes conservés, O. de Cazanove a proposé une correction radicale de la datation de son règne. Selon lui, Servius Tullius n'aurait été roi que quelques années, mais ces années auraient été d'une incroyable intensité[2]. Sans entrer dans les détails de l'argumentation de de Cazanove, je considère sa proposition comme la meilleure explication de la chronologie embrouillée des règnes des trois derniers rois de Rome, dont celui de Servius Tullius[3]. Si l'on suit le raisonnement de l'historien français, il y a lieu de considérer que ce roi n'a commencé à régner que dans les années trente du VI[e] siècle[4].

La tradition annalistique est particulièrement perplexe en ce qui concerne l'origine de l'avant-dernier roi romain. En outre, son interprétation se complique avec l'existence d'une narration étrusque divergente. Comme l'a pertinemment observé T. Cornell : « no study of early Rome can avoid a detailed analysis of this fascinating tangle »[5]. Pour la plupart des auteurs antiques, Servius Tullius serait le fils d'une certaine Ocresia/Ocrisia, originaire d'une ville latine (Corniculum ou Ocriculum, peut-être Vericulanum), qui serait devenue l'esclave de Tarquin l'Ancien après avoir été enlevée au cours d'une guerre. Elle aurait mis au monde le futur roi de Rome en captivité[6]. Les historiens anciens et les antiquaires sont encore moins sûrs en ce qui concerne l'origine du père. Pour les uns, c'est un inconnu, pour d'autres, ce serait Spurius Tullius, citoyen de Tibur dont Ocresia aurait été la concubine, et pour d'autres encore, relativement moins nombreux, ce serait Tullius, un notable de Corniculum. Certains textes également font état d'une origine divine de Servius Tullius, qui serait fils de

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[2] De Cazanove 1988 ; voir aussi idem 1992. Cornell (1995 : 423, n. 12) partage ce point de vue.

[3] Les historiens antiques avaient déjà du mal à expliquer l'intervalle de 44 ans entre la mort de Tarquin l'Ancien à un âge très avancé et l'arrivée au pouvoir de son fils Tarquin le Superbe, qui aurait ensuite régné pendant 25 ans avant de passer plus de dix ans en exil à Cumes. Conscient de cette difficulté, Denys d'Halicarnasse (IV 28) était d'avis que, contrairement à la majorité des auteurs grecs et romains, plus jeune des Tarquinii était le petit-fils, et non le fils de l'Ancien.

[4] L'hypothèse de R. Thomsen (1980 : 56) est un peu moins radicale ; elle date le début du règne de Servius aux années 40, et sa fin aux années 20 du VI[e] siècle.

[5] Cornell 1995 : 131.

[6] L'origine servile du plus fameux des rois de Rome était très certainement un fait dérangeant pour les Romains. C'est probablement pour cette raison que Tite-Live (I 39, 5) propose une version plus « patriotique » où la mère de Servius Tullius devient l'épouse d'un aristocrate de Corninculum mort au combat contre les Romains, père du futur roi de Rome, lequel serait né après la mort de son père. Tanaquil, l'épouse de Tarquin l'Ancien, aurait ensuite appris l'origine noble de leur captive et aurait interdit qu'elle soit traitée en esclave (« ob unicam nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio »). Le récit de Tite-Live est cependant contraire à la plupart des textes d'auteurs anciens, dont la liste est dressée par Thomsen 1980 : 57, nn. 3–4.

Vulcain ou d'un *lar familiaris*[7]. L'origine divine de Servius Tullius est évidemment une invention d'auteurs appartenant à une tradition plus particulièrement patriotique, pour lesquels il n'était pas concevable que ce grand roi romain fût de basse extraction.

De nombreux historiens croient que la narration étrusque n'a pas grand point commun avec la tradition annalistique. Elle est attestée dans le fameux discours prononcé par l'empereur Claude devant le Sénat à propos de l'octroi du *ius honorum* aux Éduens en 48 ap. J.-C., et par une fresque de la tombe François de Vulci. Selon les sources étrusques exploitées par Claude, qui ne sont pas connues des historiens actuels, avant de régner sur la plus puissante des *civitates* latines, l'avant-dernier roi de Rome se serait appelé Mastarna et aurait fidèlement accompagné (*sodalis fidelissimus*) de Caelius Vibenna de Vulci dans ses nombreuses expéditions guerrières, puis, après une défaite de Vibenna, aurait occupé avec les restes de son armée le mont Caelius, lequel aurait reçu son nom en hommage à l'ancien patron de Mastarna[8]. Il n'aurait commencé à être appelé Servius Tullius qu'après avoir pris le pouvoir à Rome. Claude ne dit pas par quel moyen il y est parvenu. Mais pour de nombreux chercheurs, les fresques de la tombe François, datées de la seconde moitié du IV^e^ siècle, semblent indiquer que les moyens ont été violents[9]. Elles sont constituées de deux cycles, dont le premier, mythique, se compose entre autres de scènes de l'*Iliade* et de la lutte fratricide d'Étéocle et Polynice, et le second, historique, rapporte les péripéties de Caile Vipinas, Avle Vipinas et Macstrna, ainsi que de Rasce, Marce Camitlnas et Larth Ulthes, qui se terminent par le massacre de leurs ennemis communs[10]. Il y a parmi les victimes un personnage nommé Cneve Tarchunies Rumach, ce qui, transcrit en langue latine, donnerait Cnaeus Tarquinius de Rome. Plusieurs chercheurs l'identifient à Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, Tarquin l'Ancien[11]. Quant

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[7] Les mentions des sources traitant des parents de Servius Tullius ont été analysées de façon très complète par Thomsen 1980 : 57–60 ; voir aussi Valditara 1989 : 41–50.

[8] Le texte du discours de Claude nous est connu grâce à l'inscription de Lugdunum : *CIL* XIII 1668 = *ILS* 212. Tacite en donne une version abrégée dans ses *Annales* (XI 24). L'empereur a communiqué aux sénateurs qu'il avait trouvé les renseignements sur Mastarna chez les auteurs étrusques. Mais il est difficile de résoudre si Claude a examiné leurs textes écrits en étrusque ou en latin comme dans les cas des ouvrages de Caecina et de Tarquitius Priscus – voir à ce propos Pallottino 1987 : 228–229 ; Briquel 1990 : 87, 107 ; Cornell 1995 : 134–135 ; Letta 2013 : 92–93.

[9] M. Cristofani (1967) a fixé la date à trosième quart du IV siècle av. J.-C. B. Andreae (2004b) abaisse la chronologie des fresques aux années 320–310.

[10] La littérature sur les fresques et leurs interprétations historiques est très abondante – voir entre autres Alföldi 1965 : 212–218 ; Cristofani 1967 ; Thomsen 1980 ; Coarelli 1983 ; Maggiani 1983 et 2005 ; Pallottino 1987 et 1990 ; Roncalli 1987 ; Pairault Massa 1992 : 122–124 ; Holliday 1993 ; Cornell 1995 : 139–140 ; Briquel 1997 : 66–116 et 2006 ; Vernole 2002 ; Musti 2005 ; Laurendi 2010 ; Maras 2010 ; Paltineri 2012 ; Letta 2013 ; E. Bianchi 2017 : 62–71, 119–124.

[11] Les différences de *praenomina* sont considérées par ces chercheurs comme peu significatives : voir par ex. Mazzarino 1992 : 177–179, 190–191 ; Thomsen 1980 : 89–92 ; Coarelli 1987 :

à Macstrna, Caile Vipinas et Avle Vipinas, ce sont les versions étrusques du nom de Mastarna mentionné dans le discours de Claude, et des noms des frères Vibenna (Caeles et Aulus – étr. Caile et Avile Vipiiennas), mentionnés dans le même texte et dans d'autres sources latines[12]. C'est le second cycle des fresques qui a bien entendu particulièrement retenu l'attention des historiens[13].

La comparaison du discours de l'empereur historien et des fresques de la tombe François a évidemment donné lieu à la formulation d'innombrables hypothèses contradictoires. Dans la mer d'interprétations diverses et variées, celle de R. Thomsen fait partie des plus largement argumentées[14]. Selon l'historien danois, Servius Tullius ne serait pas le fils d'une esclave originaire d'une cité latine, mais un guerrier étrusque originaire de Vulci qui aurait été initialement avec les frères Vibenna et leur armée privée au service de Tarquin l'Ancien. Ensuite, ils se seraient rebellés contre le roi de Rome ; les guerriers de Vulci ont été vaincus et capturés. Mais avec un coup de main la nuit, ils auraient réussi à s'échapper et à tuer Tarquin l'Ancien, ouvrant la voie au royaume de Mastarna-Servius Tullius. J. Martínez-Pinna propose une tout autre interprétation des sources où il arrive à la conclusion que Servius Tullius était un aristocrate de Corniculum, dans le Latium. Il aurait rempli dans une ville latine, probablement à Rome même, une fonction officielle difficile à préciser, mais qui lui aurait valu de porter un titre de *magister*. Au bout d'un certain temps, il serait entré en conflit avec Tarquin l'Ancien et se serait retiré chez les Étrusques, à Vulci, où il se serait lié avec les frères Vibenna. Les Étrusques l'auraient appelé Mastarna/Macstrna, un nom censé être la version locale de son titre romain de *magister*[15].

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49 ; Cornell 1995 : 139 ; Musti 2005 : 488. Il faut cependant noter que cette interprétation n'est pas partagée entre autres par Valditara 1989 : 105–116 ; Pallottino 1993 et 2003 ; Martínez-Pinna 1996 : 260 ; Franciosi 2001 : 53, 134, n. 36 ; Laurendi 2010 : 142 ; Maras 2010 : 197 ; Paltineri 2012 : 118 ; Letta 2013 : 104–105, 109 ; E. Bianchi 2017 : 70. La plupart d'entre eux jugent que Cneve Tarchunies Rumach a été le fils de Tarquin l'Ancien ou un autre représentant de la famille des Tarquinii qui n'a pas réussi à devenir roi.

[12] Dans son discours, Claude présente comme suit la relation entre Mastarna et Caelius Vibenna : « sodalis fidelissimus omnisque eius casus comes », et tout comme Tacite (*Ann*. IV 65), ne parle pas d'Aulus Vibenna, le frère de Caelius. Ce dernier est en revanche mentionné dans l'extrait de Verrius Flaccus rapporté par Festus (486 L., s. v. *Tuscus vicus*), dans les allusions d'Arnobe (VI 7), la *Chronogr. Vind.* de 354, Serv. ad *Aen.* VIII 345, Isid. *Origines* XV 2, 31.

[13] Pour être complet, ce cycle historique comporte aussi une représentation de Vel Saties, propriétaire du tombeau, et d'un autre membre de sa famille.

[14] Thomsen 1980 : 57–114, notamment 68–79, 89–91. Il présente aussi dans ces pages un commentaire critique de la très abondante littérature antérieure sur le sujet. Les remarques de Valditara (1989 : 41–136), Coarelli (1983) et Briquel (2006), sur l'état de recherche sont également très détaillées. Parmi les auteurs qui ont essayé de résoudre le problème de l'origine de Servius Tullius avant Thomsen il faut mentionner entre autres Alföldi (1965 : 212–222) et d'abord Pallottino (1979).

[15] La forme Mastarna est la traduction latine vocalisée du Macstrna étrusque – voir par ex. Mazzarino 1992 : 177 ; Thomsen 1980 : 97, 101–103 ; Valditara 1989 : 116–117 ; Pallottino

Profitant du conflit survenu entre Vulci et une coalition de cités situées dans le voisinage plus ou moins direct de celle-ci, Mastarna se serait emparé du pouvoir à Rome avec l'appui des frères Vibenna. Le meurtre de Tarquin l'Ancien aurait favorisé son entreprise. Mais Martínez-Pinna juge la participation de Servius Tullius à l'asassinat du cinquième roi de Rome difficile à préciser[16]. Sa proposition de reconstitution de la carrière de Servius Tullius est évidemment une tentative de rapprochement de la narration étrusque de celle des annalistes.

G. Valditara a également essayé de le faire[17]. Pour lui, Servius Tullius serait d'origine latine et serait arrivé à Rome comme prisonnier de guerre. Une fois libéré, il aurait fait carrière dans l'armée de Tarquin l'Ancien pour finalement en devenir le commandant en chef, le roi étant devenu trop âgé pour remplir convenablement cette fonction. À la fin du règne de Tarquin l'Ancien, Servius Tullius serait parvenu à étouffer avec l'appui des frères Vibenna la rébellion d'un groupe d'aristocrates qui avaient profité d'une attaque de Sabins pour passer à l'action[18]. Mais il y aurait eu peu après une autre révolte au cours de laquelle Tarquin l'Ancien aurait été tué, et Servius Tullius aurait été contraint à l'exil. Avec l'appui de ses alliés de Vulci, il aurait réussi quelque temps après à prendre le pouvoir à Rome.

J. Poucet, en revanche, n'a pas du tout essayé de concilier les traditions romaine et étrusque. Pour lui, les auteurs de la première, motivés par leur nationalisme, auraient présenté une image tout simplement fausse de l'arrivée au pouvoir de Servius Tullius en laissant de côté le rôle de Mastarna et des frères Vibenna, et plus généralement, en passant sous silence le conflit entre Rome et Vulci. Pour lui, la tradition étrusque est à coup sûr beaucoup plus digne de foi[19]. Mais ses conclusions sont invalidées par les mentions des frères Vibenna dans les ouvrages des auteures romains et grecs[20]. Il ne fait donc aucun doute que, à côté du récit principal de la tradition romaine, certains historiens et antiquaires

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1993 : 245 ; Cornell 1995 : 139–140, 427, n. 63 ; Martínez-Pinna 1996 : 276 et 2009 : 37–38 ; De Simone 2002 et 2006 ; Maras 2010 : 192–194 ; Letta 2013 : 105–107 ; E. Bianchi 2017 : 67–68.

[16] Martínez-Pinna 1996 : 273–286.

[17] Valditara 1989 : 41–136.

[18] Les conclusions du chercheur italien s'appuient sur l'analyse des textes de Denys d'Halicarnasse (III 72–73), Tacite (*Ann*. IV 65) et Festus (486 L., s. v. *Tuscus vicus*).

[19] Poucet 2000 : 192–212.

[20] Outre les auteurs mentionnés ci-dessus (n. 18) le nom de Caeles Vibenna apparaît aussi chez Varron (*Ling.* V 46) et Denys d'Halicarnasse (II 36) pour expliquer l'origine des toponymes *Mons Caelius* et *Vicus Tuscus*. Selon eux, le guerrier de Vulci serait intervenu à Rome à l'époque de Romulus, ce qui est un évident anachronisme, car indépendamment de la tradition romaine, les sources étrusques (*TLE* 35) situent clairement l'activité des frères Vibenna au VI^{e} siècle. Aulus Vibenna, en revanche, est noté par Arnobe VI 7 (se référant à des auteurs anciens, comme Fabius Pictor et Valerius Antias) ; Serv. ad *Aen*. VIII 345 ; *Chronogr. a. 354*, dans *Chron. Min*. I 144 ; Isid. *Orig*. XV 2, 31. Arnobe alterne les formes *Aulus* et *Olus* (pour justifier la pseudo-étymologie de *Capitolium – caput Oli*). Seul *Olus* est attesté dans les autres sources indiquées ci-dessus.

au moins connaissaient des versions alternatives des événements dramatiques qui avaient mené à la prise de pouvoir de Servius Tullius. Par conséquent, force est d'admettre qu'en opposant la tendance dominante de la tradition annalistique à la narration étrusque tout en laissant de côté les auteurs qui s'écartent de la première, Poucet se livre à une sorte de manipulation. Alors que l'historien belge souligne lui-même systématiquement la nécessité de respecter les règles élémentaires de la critique des sources dans la recherche sur l'histoire de la Rome primitive, sa façon de privilégier la version étrusque de la prise de pouvoir de Servius Tullius n'est pas un modèle de respect de ces règles.

Poucet et les nombreux autres partisans de la théorie de l'élimination physique de Tarquin l'Ancien et de la prise de pouvoir à Rome par des guerriers étrusques de Vulci ne présentent pas ses points faibles ou n'y prêtent pas suffisamment attention[21]. T. Cornell en a relevé plusieurs. Il a notamment souligné les doutes qui planent sur l'identification de Cneve Tarchunies à Tarquin l'Ancien. Pour lui, si cette identification est possible en théorie, il n'existe pas d'indices positifs pour l'étayer[22]. Cornell a émis l'hypothèse que Tarchunies pourrait être un aventurier dont les agissements n'avaient rien à voir avec l'état romain[23].

De nombreuses interprétations de l'histoire de Servius Tullius antérieure à sa prise de pouvoir à Rome, dont les conceptions de Thomsen, Martínez-Pinna et Valditara, sont basées sur l'idée que Mastarna/Macstrna n'est pas un nom propre, mais un surnom qui tire son origine du mot latin *magister* transposé en langue étrusque[24]. T. Cornell pense que si cette explication est plausible, elle est loin d'être certaine[25]. En outre, il a attiré l'attention sur une importante conséquence de l'adoption de la version de la narration étrusque reprise par Claude :

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[21] Outre Poucet la narration étrusque est préférée par entre autres Alföldi 1965 : 212–218, 230–231 ; Roncalli 1987 ; Bernardi 1988 ; Briquel 1990, 1997 : 57–116 et 2006.

[22] Cornell 1995 : 139. Il ne partage pas les avis de chercheurs tels que Thomsen (1980 : 90) ou Coarelli (1983 : 63) pour qui il ne fait aucun doute que Cneve Tarchunies est Tarquin l'Ancien. Je reviens sur cette question dans la suite de l'article.

[23] Cette avis de Cornell est peu probable.

[24] L. Bianchi 1985 ; Capedeville 1992 : 47–48 ; De Simone 2002 : 431–432.

[25] Cornell 1995 : 140. Elle est inacceptable pour G. Cairo (2009 : 21, n. 104). Voir les analyses détaillées du problème de De Simone (2002 : 430–442), Laurendi (2010 : 137–139) et Letta (2013 : 105–107). M. Pallottino (1987 : 225, 1990 : 5 et 1993 : 237–250) constata que le suffix *-na* indique « appartenance » ou « subordination » à un **macstr*, c'est-à-dire à un *magister*, soit un chef, et en se fondant sur le témoignage de Claude identifia à Caeles Vibenna ce *magister*. En revanche, De Simone (2002 : 454–455) attribue au suffix *-na* la valeur d'abstraction du substantif (en clair : magistrature) par rapport au titre concret et individuel du fonctionnaire, i.e. *magister*. Ainsi, *mastarna* aurait été un éqivalent au « commandement » dans le sens le « commandant ». Laurendi (2010 : 137–138, 144) ne partage pas l'avis de De Simone ; elle préfère l'interprétation de Pallottino. Letta (2013 : 106–107) n'accepte à son tour que partiellement le point de vu de Pallottino. Selon lui Mastarna est l'adjectif étrusque derivant du substantif latin *magister* qui indique la fonction exercée dans le passé. Il pense à une relation comme *praetor* / *praetorius*,

elle impliquerait un rejet pur et simple de la tradition locale romaine relative à Servius Tullius, ce qui, pour lui, serait tout de même exagéré[26].

Les réserves de Cornell concernant la théorie qui donne la préférence au récit étrusque n'épuisent pas la liste de ses points faibles. Pour poursuivre la dernière réflexion de l'historien britannique, il serait difficile d'expliquer de façon rationnelle pourquoi les auteurs de la tradition des racines latines de Servius Tullius lui auraient imaginé une origine servile. Or celle-ci est mentionnée par tous les auteurs grecs et romains – sauf Tite-Live – qui ont évoqué les origines de l'avant-dernier roi de Rome[27]. Pour les Romains des époques ultérieures, la naissance en esclavage de ce grand roi était assurément un fait honteux. C'est probablement ce sentiment qui a incité l'auteur de *Ab Urbe condita* à « améliorer » le récit des origines de Servius Tullius. Si toute la narration relative aux racines latines du successeur de Tarquin l'Ancien n'était qu'une invention de *storytellers* romains, ils auraient probablement donné à sa mère un statut social plus respectable que celui de l'esclave Ocresia. Mais les moyens mis en œuvre en ce sens par Tite-Live, ou peut-être plutôt par l'un des auteurs qui lui ont servi de sources, n'ont visiblement pas donné de résultat satisfaisant, puisque même les auteurs postérieurs à Auguste ont continué de rappeler l'origine servile de Servius Tullius.

Un autre argument en défaveur de l'interprétation étrusque de la carrière de l'avant-dernier roi de Rome nous est fourni par l'examen minutieux des fresques de la tombe François. Ce monument exceptionnel a été découvert en 1857 par l'ingénieur des mines florentin Alessandro François sur le site du cimetière étrusque de Ponte Rotta, sur la rive gauche de la Fiora. Construit dans la seconde moitié du IV^e^ siècle, il appartenait à la famille Saties. Sa célébrité est due surtout aux fresques qui décoraient les parois et les plafonds des dix pièces dont il se compose. Vue depuis l'entrée, la pièce centrale de la tombe est en forme de « T » renversé et se compose en fait de deux chambres appelées *atrium* et *tablinum*. La plupart des fresques découvertes dans le monument se trouvent sur les parois de ces chambres. Les fresques représentant des personnages ont été détachées des parois en 1863 et transportées à la Villa Albani-Torlonia de Rome. Elles ont été longtemps inaccessibles au public comme aux chercheurs et se sont dégradées avec le temps. Plusieurs copies des scènes à figures avaient cependant été réalisées dès la découverte du tombeau, et vu l'inaccessibilité des originaux, ce sont elles qui ont servi de matériau d'étude aux chercheurs. La situation

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consul / consularis. En bref, Letta affirme, à juste titre semble-t-il, que c'est Servius Tullius au lieu de Caeles Vibenna qui fut le *magister*.

[26] Cornell 1995 : 140. L'idée de la conquête de Rome par l'expédition des guerriers étrusques de Vulci n'est pas partagée non plus par C. Letta (2013). Cependant, son argumentation est différente de celle du historien britannique. Je présenterai son opinion ci-dessous.

[27] Leur liste a été dressée par Thomsen 1980 : 57, nn. 3–4.

a heureusement évolué dans le bon sens il y a une vingtaine d'années, lorsque les fresques originales conservées à la Villa Albani-Torlonia ont été restaurées et ont pu être virtuellement reconstituées à partir des copies du XIX^{e} siècle. Grâce au grand historien de l'art B. Andreae, l'ensemble des décorations originales de la tombe a ainsi pu être recréé[28]. Ses travaux servent aujourd'hui de point de départ pour toutes les études iconographiques, iconologiques et historiques des fresques de la tombe François.

Les parois de gauche des deux chambres centrales, en suivant l'axe du tombeau, sont décorées de fresques à thèmes mythologiques, avec, sur le premier pan de mur (dans l'*atrium*), Phénix et Nestor en position debout, puis le duel fratricide de Polynice et Étéocle ; la paroi latérale de la chambre suivante (le *tablinum*) est décorée d'une grande scène de massacre de prisonniers troyens offerts en sacrifice aux funérailles de Patrocle. Les parois de droite par rapport à l'axe du tombeau sont décorées de fresques représentant différents épisodes de l'histoire de Vulci, et vraisemblablement aussi de Rome. Ainsi, face au massacre des prisonniers troyens, se trouve une scène de libération de Caile Vipinas par Macstrna et de massacre de leurs ennemis. Le tableau situé vis à vis du duel de Polynice et Étéocle représente un combat entre Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies. Le pendant de droite de la scène de Phénix et Nestor représente un personnage non identifié étant donné l'état de détérioration de la fresque (peut-être un parent ou un ancêtre de Vel Saties[29]) et Vel Saties lui-même, c'est-à-dire le commanditaire de la tombe, accompagné d'un garçon nommé Arnza. L'identification des personnages est certaine, car leurs noms sont écrits à côté de leur image.

Les interprétations des fresques de la tombe François ont donné lieu à une abondante littérature. Comme il serait impossible de présenter toutes les thèses dans cet article, même en se limitant aux auteurs des plus importantes d'entre elles, je m'en tiendrai à présenter les conclusions que j'ai personnellement tirées de l'analyse de ces sources. La première caractéristique de ces peintures murales saute aux yeux, si je puis dire : c'est le parallélisme existant entre les scènes situées à gauche et à droite de l'axe de la tombe, avec, de chaque côté, une absence de rapport direct entre les thèmes des épisodes représentés. La grande fresque du fond, sur la paroi gauche du *tablinum*, soit à gauche de la porte d'accès à la dernière pièce située dans l'axe du tombeau, représente, nous l'avons vu, le sacrifice de prisonniers troyens à l'occasion des funérailles de Patrocle, tandis que la paroi droite de cette même chambre est ornée de la scène de libération de Caile Vipinas par Macstrna, accompagnée d'un massacre d'ennemis. Ces derniers sont vraisemblablement aussi des Étrusques, d'autres cités que Vulci. Il

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[28] Andreae 2004a–c ; Rathje 2014 : 57. Les travaux d'Andreae sont complétés par la publication par A. Maggiani (2005 : 607–609) de fresques retrouvées au Musée d'Archéologie de Florence.

[29] Voir Musti 2005 : 504.

serait difficile de nier que ces fresques sont apparentées par leur thématique. Le même principe semble également s'appliquer aux scènes de l'*atrium*. Celles de gauche représentent le duel de Polynice et Étéocle, puis Phénix et Nestor, héros de la guerre de Troie. La première se trouve sur le mur du fond, la seconde, sur le mur latéral. Leurs correspondantes du côté droit sont, dans l'ordre, la scène de l'affrontement de Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies, qui fut vraisemblablement fatal à celui-ci[30], puis le tableau représentant Vel Saties et Arnza, puis l'image du personnage non identifié. La fresque de Vel Saties et Arnza se trouve exactement en face du personnage de Nestor. Du pan de fresque de droite situé vis à vis de Phénix, il ne reste que quelques fragments qui représentent probablement une autre image d'Arnza et un autre personnage[31]. Il est fort probable que l'image de Vel Saties a été placée juste en face de celle de Nestor par allusion à sa sagesse, et peut-être aussi à son âge[32].

La question de la signification de la scène où apparaissent Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies doit maintenant être posée. C. Ampolo considère cette scène comme un reflet miroir du duel d'Étéocle et Polynice[33]. En général, elle est interprétée comme représentation d'un épisode du conflit qui opposait Rome et Vulci, victorieux pour la ville étrusque, à l'issue duquel Mastarna/Macstrna aurait pris le pouvoir à Rome[34]. Mais ces dernières années, plusieurs chercheurs dont D. Musti se sont montrés sceptiques à l'égard de cette interprétation. Pour ce dernier, la fresque de la tombe n'illustre pas l'hostilité de Rome et Vulci[35]. Les partisans orthodoxes de la version étrusque identifient tous les héros des scènes historiques à l'exception de Cneve Tarchunies comme étant des guerriers de Vulci et des compagnons d'armes des frères Vibenna, et leurs ennemis comme des représentants d'autres cités étrusques. Mais cette approche ne résiste pas à la

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[30] F. Roncalli (1987 : 97) pense que Cneve Tarchunies fut capturé mais pas tué. D. Musti (2005 : 492, 499) polémique avec lui en argumentant avec justesse que les autres scènes des deux cycles, mythiques ou historiques, semblent indiquer que l'affrontement de Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies s'est terminé par la mort de ce dernier.

[31] Ce fragment est ainsi interprété par Roncalli 1987 : 101–102. Pour Musti (2005 : 504), qui s'appuie sur la reconstitution de cette fresque effectuée par A. Maggiani (1983), elle représenterait un autre membre de la famille de Vel Saties, peut-être son frère, voire Vel Saties lui-même à une autre époque de son existence que celle du panneau voisin. Pour une description détaillée et des photographies de bonne qualité des scènes à personnages, qui dans la décoration du tombeau s'accompagnent également de frises animalières, voir Andreae 2004a–c et Laurendi 2010 : 126–130.

[32] Voir Roncalli 1987 : 101–102 et Musti 2005 : 490.

[33] Ampolo 1988 : 205–206. D. Musti (2005 : 485, 498) et R. Laurendi (2010 : 133) sont également de cet avis. Letta (2013 : 111) présente une autre interprétation des deux scènes. J'aurai à revenir plus loin sur son commentaire.

[34] Parmi les nombreux partisans de cette théorie, le nom de M. Pallottino (1979, 1987 et 1990 : 5) se détache particulièrement.

[35] Musti 2005 : 498–499, 503. Avant lui, cette interprétation a été contestée, entre autres, par F. Coarelli 1983b et Cornell 1995 : 138–139.

critique. Il est fort probable en effet que Marce Camitlnas n'était pas étrusque, mais romain ou à la rigueur, latin, originaire d'une autre ville que Rome. Son *praenomen* latin, entre autres, parle en faveur de cette interprétation. De même, son *nomen gentile* est vraisemblablement une transcription étrusque du nom romain Camillius[36].

Mis à part les arguments linguistiques, le parallélisme entre la scène d'Étéocle et Polynice et celle de Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies incite lui aussi à rejeter l'interprétation qui verrait dans le combat de ces deux derniers un épisode de la guerre entre Vulci et Rome, ou plutôt une expédition privée de guerriers de Vulci contre Rome. Tout comme D. Musti avant elle, N. Canu en est arrivée à la conclusion qui me semble la plus juste, à savoir que la présentation de cette scène en reflet miroir de celle du mur d'en face « implica fraternità di Marce Camitlnas e Gneo Tarquinio »[37]. L'affrontement de Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies devient alors un combat opposant un Romain à un autre Romain, pas à un Étrusque, et par conséquent la scène cesse de représenter la guerre entre Rome et Vulci[38]. Pour conclure cette partie de mes réflexions, je penche donc en

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[36] F. Coarelli (1983 : 62–65) pense que Marce Camitlnas était un guerrier sabin de Tibur, comme semblerait l'indiquer, entre autres, l'appartenance de Tibur à la tribu *Camilia*. À mon avis, cet argument est de peu de poids, car la *Camilia* faisait partie des tribus rustiques les plus anciennes de Rome et a été fondée plus de 400 ans avant le rattachement de Tibur à Rome. Ses interprétations des fresques de la tombe François représentant Sisyphe et Amphiaraos (pp. 60–65), non traitées dans le présent article, ne me convainquent pas non plus. Le premier serait le fondateur de Corinthe, ville d'origine des ancêtres des Tarquinii, et le second, le père de Catillus, fondateur de Tibur. Cet argument dans son ensemble serait censé renforcer l'hypothèse de l'origine tiburienne de Marce Camitlnas. L'avis de Coarelli relève de la pure spéculation. Pourquoi en effet le commanditaire des fresques du tombeau, l'oligarque étrusque Vel Saties, aurait-il fait représenter les ancêtres mythiques de personnages appartenant à un passé éloigné, sans rapport avec sa famille et vraisemblablement d'une autre ethnie ? La fondation de la tribu *Camilia* au plus tard à la charnière des VI^{e} et V^{e} siècles incite davantage à considérer Marce Camitlnas comme un Romain, et pas comme un Sabin de Tibur. D. Musti (2005 : 499) voit lui aussi des liens étroits avec Rome. Pour M. Pallottino (1993 : 245), l'équivalent latin de *Camitlnas* serait plutôt *Camedius* que *Camilius*, mais cette idée du fameux étruscologue n'a pas été très suivie. Ch. Bruun (2000) a proposé une conception intéressante il y a deux décennies. Il a rattaché Marce Camitlnas au fameux homme politique M. Furius Camillus, patricien, conquérant de Véies. À son avis, ce dernier serait un personnage fictif imaginé par les auteurs de la tradition historique des premiers temps de la République. Ils auraient attribué à ce chef patricien imaginaire certains des exploits de Marce Camitlnas, qu'il considère comme un héros légendaire de l'Italie centrale (p. 46). Concordant dans une certaine mesure avec l'hypothèse du chercheur scandinave, l'interprétation de D. Musti (2005 : 488–489, 499) ne remet pas en question l'historicité de M. Furius Camillus, mais considère que l'auteur des fresques de la tombe François a représenté Marce Camitlnas à l'image du chef patricien, imaginaire ou réel, dans les premières décennies du IV^{e} siècle. Ch. Smith (2019 : 222) émet des réserves sur la théorie de Bruun et reste sceptique sur l'utilité des fresques de la tombe François pour la reconstitution d'événements historiques. A. Rathje (2014 : 62–63) présente un avis semblable sur leur valeur documentaire.

[37] Musti 2005 : 503 ; Canu 2009 : 240.

[38] Musti 2005 : 485, 499.

faveur de l'idée que le combat de Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies devait avoir un caractère de conflit familial ou de στάσις : il devait illustrer l'hostilité de deux camps rivaux à Rome même.

Les liens entre Marce Camitlnas et le camp de Mastarna et des frères Vibenna sont un autre problème. Une grande majorité des chercheurs qui tentent de reconstituer l'histoire de Rome et des cités étrusques de l'époque archaïque sur la base des fresques de la tombe François pensent que Marce Camitlnas était un *sodalis* des frères Vibenna. L'acceptation de cette théorie implique de reconnaître que l'armée, ou plutôt, comme le pensent certains historiens, la bande des frères Vibenna était multiethnique, ce qui du reste viendrait aussi infirmer la théorie qui voit dans cette partie des fresques de la tombe François une illustration d'un épisode de la guerre entre Rome et Vulci. La fresque, en effet, représenterait plutôt un épisode d'une expédition privée des frères Vibenna, peut-être contre les troupes de l'un ou l'autre « seigneur de la guerre » ennemi.

Une autre interprétation radicalement différente est cependant également admissible. Elle s'appuie sur une hypothèse de l'archéologue danoise A. Rathje qui repose sur une analyse du schéma iconographique de la décoration du tombeau dressé par P. Holliday. Selon cette analyse, si les scènes visibles du côté gauche doivent effectivement se lire de gauche à droite, pour les fresques à contenu historique, c'est l'inverse : elles doivent se lire de droite à gauche. Rathje en a ainsi conclu que « Marce Camitlnas and Cneve Tarchunies cannot belong to the Etruscan story »[39]. À l'appui de cette idée, force est de reconnaître qu'il n'y a pas de lien logique entre le duel d'Étéocle et Polynice et le sacrifice des prisonniers troyens. Dès lors, si l'on s'en tient à un parallélisme strict entre les scènes situées de part et d'autre de l'axe du tombeau, il y a lieu de considérer que les scènes représentant Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies, puis Mastarna, les frères Vibenna et leurs *sodales* ne constituent pas non plus une suite narrative. L'argument est évidemment de poids limité, mais on ne peut pas le laisser de côté dans l'analyse des fresques de la tombe François.

Comment donc interpréter le rapport entre les scènes historiques de ces fresques et la prise de pouvoir de Servius Tullius ? Si l'on réfute la théorie selon laquelle elles illustreraient des épisodes de la guerre entre Vulci et Rome, finalement remportée par la cité étrusque, le champ est ouvert à la formulation de différentes conceptions. Le débat long et animé qui s'est mené jusqu'à présent n'a toujours pas donné de réponse globalement acceptable à la question posée

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[39] Rathje 2014 : 62 ; Holliday 1993 : 181. L'existence d'un rapport entre la scène du combat de Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies et la grande scène représentant Mastarna et les frères Vibenna est également questionnée par T.P. Wiseman (2004 : 42–43) et R. Laurendi (2010 : 126–127, n. 14). K. Lomas (2018 : 356, n. 4) écrit que, pour Bruun (2000) aussi, l'affrontement de Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies ne fait pas partie de la grande scène représentant les frères Vibenna et Mastarna. Toutefois, je n'ai trouvé dans le texte du chercheur scandinave aucune formulation qui permette de tirer pareille conclusion.

ci-dessus. Les interprétations de D. Musti et R. Laurendi montrent bien combien les conceptions sont variées. Pour Musti, toutes les scènes de la tombe François auraient pour finalité commune de faire l'éloge de la concorde à tous les niveaux – la famille, la cité, peut-être aussi la communauté ethnique – tout en représentant les effets négatifs des conflits qui surviennent à ces mêmes niveaux[40]. Laurendi rejette cette approche de Musti, et pour elle, le décor du tombeau est une célébration de l'idéologie des victoires militaires[41]. Son argument repose sur la scène de danse pyrrhique qui orne la toge de Vel Saties, dans laquelle elle voit une danse martiale. Il y a probablement une part de vérité dans cette interprétation[42].

À mon avis, les fresques du tombeau sont en effet avant tout une glorification des victoires militaires de Vel Saties, et les motifs qui ornent sa toge sont un argument fort en faveur de cette thèse. Les autres scènes historiques et le sacrifice des prisonniers troyens – qui fait suite à une victoire des Achéens – viennent souligner les actions d'éclat de Vel Saties, que l'auteur des fresques aurait ainsi représentées au moyen de scènes de grandes victoires appartenant à un passé plus ou moins éloigné[43]. Cette interprétation, toutefois, se heurte à la scène du duel d'Étéocle et Polynice, dont le sens reste difficile à préciser. Peut-être faudrait-il fusionner les approches de Musti et Laurendi : la glorification des victoires, après tout, n'exclut pas d'exprimer une mise en garde contre les conséquences fatales des conflits familiaux ou internes à la *polis*. L'allusion à la sagesse de Vel Saties à travers la représentation de son personnage en face de celui de Nestor peut alors être interprétée comme un résultat : c'est lui qui aurait rétabli la concorde dans la famille, ou plus vraisemblablement, dans la cité. Il demeure malheureusement impossible de trouver une clé d'interprétation qui explique le message des fresques dans son ensemble[44]. Chercher, en revanche, à expliquer séparément chacune des scènes peut s'avérer plus satisfaisant.

Ainsi, il semble que l'analyse de la représentation du combat entre Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies peut être le clé pour comprendre comment Servius Tullius est arrivé sur le trône. Un nombre assez important de chercheurs émettent des doutes quant au statut royal de Tarchunies et suggèrent qu'il devait n'être

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[40] Musti 2005 : *passim*.

[41] Laurendi 2010 : 143–144.

[42] Son absence de regard critique sur la théorie que Pallottino a présentée, entre autres, dans son texte de 1990 est en revanche difficilement acceptable. Elle tient en une interprétation des fresques de la tombe François par le prisme des informations contenues dans le discours de l'empereur Claude.

[43] Pour les Grecs comme très certainement aussi pour les Étrusques, les événements du passé mythique appartenaient réellement à l'histoire.

[44] Ma conclusion correspondrait aux points de vue de Wiseman (2004 : 42–43), Briquel (2006 : 87, 89–91), Rathje (2014) et Smith (2019).

qu'un parent de Tarquin l'Ancien[45]. Un des arguments en faveur de cette interprétation est que l'image de Tarchunies ne comporte en effet aucune marque de dignité royale, contrairement à Agamemnon et Nestor qui tiennent un sceptre[46]. L'interprétation est bien sûr admissible, mais une approche inverse se laisserait tout autant justifier : si l'on tient pour exacte la conception selon laquelle le principal message du cycle de fresques est la glorification des vertus militaires et de la sagesse de Vel Saties, il faut alors admettre que l'artiste, probablement en accord avec le commanditaire, les a représentées à travers des faits et des événements connus de tous. Même si plus de deux siècles s'étaient écoulés entre la mort de Tarquin l'Ancien et l'exécution des fresques du tombeau, le meurtre du roi en faisait sans nul doute partie, ce qui n'était pas le cas de la qualité de membre de la famille royale de Tarchunies. La tradition annalistique et les textes d'autres auteurs antiques concordent en ce qui concerne la fin violente du règne du premier roi « étrusque » de Rome. Sous son règne, Rome était déjà une cité importante, et l'événement a donc dû avoir un large retentissement au moins dans toute l'Italie centrale, si pas dans l'ensemble de la péninsule. Il a dû s'inscrire durablement non seulement dans la mémoire des Romains, mais aussi dans celle des peuples voisins, dont en particulier les Étrusques, étant donné les origines partiellement étrusques de Tarquin l'Ancien. Mais il faut reconnaître que cette interprétation aussi n'est qu'une hypothèse. Ainsi, il semble impossible résoudre définitivement la question de la dignité royale de Tarchunies.

Le nom de Camitlnas, nous l'avons vu, ainsi que le contexte iconographique élargi de toute la scène nous autorisent à considérer que le meurtrier de Tarchunies était Romain. La mort de Tarquin l'Ancien aurait ainsi été la conséquence d'un conflit interne. Mais cette mort a-t-elle été d'une quelconque manière liée à une action des frères Vibenna et de Mastarna ? La réponse à cette question ne nous est fournie ni par les fresques de la tombe François, ni par le discours de Claude au Sénat. Concernant les fresques, il n'est même pas sûr qu'il existe de lien entre la scène du combat de Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies et celle où apparaissent Mastarna, les frères Vibenna et leurs *sodales*[47]. Toute tentative d'attribuer aux guerriers de Vulci un rôle quelconque dans le meurtre de Tarquin l'Ancien sur la base de l'analyse des fresques de la tombe François ne peut être considérée que comme de la surinterprétation de source. De même, on ne peut déduire directement du texte du discours de Claude comment Mastarna s'y serait pris pour s'emparer du pouvoir à Rome. Comme l'a souligné G. Valditara, selon le texte de Denys d'Halicarnasse, les dernières années du règne de Tarquin l'Ancien ont

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[45] Voir ci-dessus n. 11.

[46] Les chercheurs qui mettent en doute l'identification de Tarchunies à Tarquin l'Ancien attirent aussi l'attention sur les différences de leurs prénoms – voir à ce propos la première partie de cette communication.

[47] Voir ci-dessus, n. 38.

été troublées, sa politique étant contestée par une partie de l'aristocratie[48]. Les textes des annalistes, et peut-être les fresques de la tombe François, présentent son meurtrier comme étant un Romain. La narration romaine porte des traces évidentes de dramatisation théâtrale et ne rend certainement pas compte du cours réel des événements. Il n'est cependant pas possible de préciser s'il faut y voir un résultat de l'ignorance de ses auteurs, ou si elle a été délibérément falsifiée. Marcus Camillius (Marce Camitlnas) faisait peut-être partie de l'élite romaine hostile à Tarquin l'Ancien, et il pouvait être même membre de sa famille, ce que pourrait indiquer le fait que la scène de meurtre de Cneve Tarchunies est représentée parallèlement au duel fratricide de Polynice et Étéocle.

Ce qui est certain en revanche, c'est que la mort soudaine de Tarquin l'Ancien a déclenché une grave crise intérieure à Rome, et que cette crise a elle-même créé des conditions favorables à une prise de pouvoir par la force. Le discours de Claude nous apprend que c'est Mastarna qui l'a accomplie, avec l'aide de ses alliés de Vulci. Son accession au pouvoir présenterait ainsi des similitudes avec celle de Pisistrate, au moment où il devint tyran d'Athènes pour la troisième fois. La supposition selon laquelle les restes d'armée de Caeles Vibenna dont parle l'empereur historien auraient constitué une troupe de mercenaires à la solde de Servius Tullius/Mastarna est admissible[49]. Mastarna s'en serait servi pour sortir vainqueur de la lutte pour le pouvoir engagée à Rome. Cette interprétation des circonstances de la prise de pouvoir de Mastarna est, dans une certaine mesure, proche de la conception de J. Martínez-Pinna évoquée ci-dessus. Elle en diffère notamment par une réserve – voire un rejet – de l'hypothèse selon laquelle Mastarna ne serait autre que Servius Tullius, à qui Tarquin l'Ancien aurait attribué un titre de *magister*, et qui, après s'être brouillé avec son maître, se serait retiré à Vulci où il se serait lié avec les frères Vibenna. Une autre différence apparaît dans la reconstitution des circonstances favorables à la prise de pouvoir de Mastarna. Rappelons que pour l'historien espagnol, celle-ci se serait produite à la suite d'un conflit entre Vulci et une coalition de cités situées dans son plus ou moins proche voisinage, et pas à la suite d'un conflit intérieur, lequel, comme nous l'avons vu ci-dessus, serait la cause la plus vraisemblable de la chute de Tarquin l'Ancien.

Valditara a proposé une alternative à la théorie de Martínez-Pinna. Pour lui, Servius Tullius n'aurait jamais compté parmi les ennemis de Tarquin l'Ancien, et la révolte contre le roi aurait été en réalité une révolte contre lui, parce qu'il était prévu qu'il lui succède sur le trône. Après l'assassinat du roi, Servius Tullius aurait été forcé de s'exiler à Vulci, où il aurait réussi à gagner la confiance des frères Vibenna. Ses alliés étrusques l'auraient ensuite aidé à sortir vainqueur

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[48] Voir ci-dessus, n. 15.

[49] À propos du recours de Servius Tullius/Mastarna à des mercenaires dans sa lutte pour le pouvoir, voir notamment Mitchell 1990 : 40.

de sa lutte pour le pouvoir à Rome. Valditara pense, tout comme Martínez-Pinna, que chez les Étrusques, Servius Tullius était appelé Macstrna, et qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'un nom propre, mais d'un surnom qui lui était donné en raison de sa fonction de *magister* romaine. Dans leurs interprétations, les deux chercheurs ont tenu compte à la fois de la narration étrusque et du courant de la tradition romaine que représentaient Tite-Live, Denis d'Halicarnasse et partiellement Tacite. Le texte de Tacite gagne de la vraisemblance par son rejet de la narration traditionnelle relative à l'intervention de Porsenna après la chute de Tarquin le Superbe, et son adoption d'une version des événements beaucoup moins glorieuse pour Rome[50]. En outre, dans le passage où il explique l'étymologie du toponyme *mons Caelius*, Tacite écrit : « ...Caelium appellitatum a Caele Vibenna, qui dux gentis Etruscae cum auxilium tulisset sedem eam acceperat a Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis alius regum dedit ; nam scriptores in eo dissentiunt »[51]. Ce passage nous indique clairement que l'historien connaissait différentes versions de l'origine du nom de la colline, et qu'il a choisi celle qui lui paraissait la plus plausible. Il est probable que l'auteur des *Annales* s'est appuyé sur la lecture des œuvres de Verrius Flaccus. Quant à ce dernier, selon T. Cornell, il en savait plus que les autres auteurs romains, car il était expert en affaires étrusques et avait même écrit une monographie à ce sujet, ce qui tendrait à indiquer qu'il a exploité des sources étrusques[52].

T. Cornell ne se prononce en faveur d'aucune des versions de la prise de pouvoir de Servius Tullius présentées dans le présent article. Pour lui – et force est de lui donner raison – elles ont toutes des points faibles. L'analyse des sources l'a amené à conclure que les traditions étrusque et romaine sont totalement incompatibles. Il serait difficile de voir dans l'homme de confiance de Tarquin l'Ancien le même personnage que l'aventurier qui accompagnait Caeles Vibenna dans toutes ses escapades. L'historien britannique en conclut ainsi : « it is probably sensible to keep Servius Tullius and Mastarna distinct from one another »[53], tout en formulant l'hypothèse que les sources étrusques de Claude ne disaient pas textuellement que Mastarna était le nom étrusque de Servius Tullius, et que l'identification de Mastarna à l'avant-dernier roi de Rome serait une interprétation personnelle de l'empereur historien sur la base d'un texte étrusque qui évoquait la prise de pouvoir de Mastarna à Rome après la mort du roi Tarquin. Ne voulant pas remettre en question la liste canonique des sept rois de Rome, Claude n'aurait eu d'autre solution que d'identifier Mastarna à Servius Tullius[54].

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[50] Tac. *Hist.* III 72.

[51] Tac. *Ann*. IV 65.

[52] Cornell 1995 : 135, 426, n. 47.

[53] *Ibidem*, p. 140.

[54] *Ibidem*, pp. 139–140, 426, n. 47.

A. Momigliano était arrivé à la même conclusion que Cornell longtemps avant ce dernier[55].

La version radicale de Momigliano/Cornell ne semble toutefois pas plus convaincante que les interprétations de Valditara et Martínez-Pinna, ce qui n'implique pas qu'il faille la considérer comme moins vraisemblable. En plus, il ne manque pas de chercheurs qui pensent que les traditions latine et étrusque, au moins pour les événements principaux, sont réconciliables, à savoir en premier lieu C. Letta[56]. Selon lui, tout d'abord l'examen du discours de Claude attesté dans la *tabula Lugdunensis* et des textes littéraires (Festus, Tacite) – tous dépendants probablement des mêmes sources – montré que d'après la tradition étrusque les frères Vibenna et Mastarna n'étaient pas des ennemis de Tarquin l'Ancien, mais des soldats de fortune à son service. Ainsi, si la tradition étrusque ne parlait pas d'une conquête armée de Rome par les Vibenna contre le cinquième roi de Rome, il n'est plus possible de soutenir qu'elle était en contraste total et irrémédiable avec la tradition latine et qu'il fallait nécessairement choisir l'une ou l'autre.

La tradition latine savait que Servius Tullius étant le fils d'un prisonnier de guerre était devenu *magister equitum* (ἡγεμὼν τῶν ἱππέων[57]) de Tarquinius Priscus et il n'avait eu aucune responsabilité dans son élimination violente. De son côté, la tradition étrusque savait que Servius Tullius avait été un compagnon d'armes de Caelius et d'Aulus Vibenna qui était venu à Rome avec eux au service de Tarquinius Priscus après des événements sanglants qui les avaient contraints à quitter l'Étrurie. L'accession de Servius Tullius au trône devait être considérée comme une action controversée et violante, puisque les deux Vibennas étaient morts à Rome.

Letta suppose que la scène du combat entre Marce Camitlnas et Cneve Tarchunies doit se référer non pas à l'élimination du cinquième roi de Rome, mais aux luttes pour sa succession déclenchées par sa sortie soudaine de la scène. Cneve Tarchunies, frère ou cousin de Tarquin l'Ancien, à la mort de ce dernier tenta prendre le pouvoir à la tête de sa propre armée personnelle de *sodales* composée de jeunes aristocrates étrusques. Il aurait pris l'initiative en désarmant et en emprisonnant les hommes de Cele Vibenna, y compris Mastarna, qui avaient été au service du roi tué. Mais, grâce au coup d'État nocturne représenté dans la tombe François, les prisonniers auraient réussi à se libérer et à tuer leurs adversaires.

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[55] Momigliano 1961 : 14 et 1989 : 96. La liste des savants qui nient l'identification de Servius Tullius à Mastarna est très longue et il serait difficile de tous les citer : voir Laurendi 2010 : 141.

[56] Letta 2013 : 107–109. Maras (2012 : 192) est parvenu à la conclusion que « la tradizione etrusca, infatti, si contrappone a quella latina secundo Claudio esclusivamente per quanto riguarda l'origine e la storia giovanile ».

[57] Dion. Hal. IV 3, 2.

L'interprétation de Letta est plus convaincante et cohérente que les analyses d'autres chercheurs présentées ci-dessus. Mais aussi sa reconstitution du chemin vers le pouvoir de Servius Tullius n'est qu'une hypothèse. Ainsi, la carrière de l'avant-dernier roi de Rome reste une énigme. Une énigme qui, semble-t-il, ne sera jamais définitivement résolue.

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MILITARY TRIBUNATE IN THE CAREERS OF ROMAN SENATORS OF THE SEVERAN PERIOD. PART 4: GOVERNORSHIPS OF PRAETORIAN AND CONSULAR PROVINCES

by

DANUTA OKOŃ

ABSTRACT: Under the Principate, senatorial governorships of provinces were either of the praetorian or the consular rank. A military tribunate in the *cursus honorum* facilitated the award of the governorship of a province with legions, and subsequently a consulship and a proconsulship of either Asia or Africa. Although the military tribunate was not a compulsory office, its impact was evident at all stages of a senatorial career.

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

This paper is the fourth in a series of publications devoted to the senatorial careers of former military tribunes of the Severan period[1]. In the previous three papers (also published in "Eos")[2], I identified 123 such senators and analysed their biographic entries. My detailed analysis included: the circumstances in which they attained the tribunate and the consequences of attaining the position; special awards received by the tribunes (*dona militaria*, *adlectiones*, *commendatio Augusti*); and higher military commands held by them (*legatus legionis*, *praepositus*, *dux*).

In this part, I would like to analyse whether (and if so, what) impact holding a military tribunate had on the subsequent assumption of governorships of different ranks – praetorian and consular. Holding governorships was often associated with the need to manage the legions of the province and the auxiliary troops stationed in it, so being a tribune at the beginning of one's career and the experience gained from holding this post could have an impact on a military tribune's further promotion. Given the opportunity of analysing the *cursus* of senators, I would like to determine the extent to which holding the governorship of a province could affect the chances of attaining a consulship (*suffectus* or *ordinarius*). To get a more complete picture, my studies included all offices of the praetorian

[1] The military tribunate of some senators is dated to the times of the last Antonines. As senators living under the Severans, they were the subject of my studies, as were those whose careers continued after AD 235.

[2] Okoń 2019, 2020 and 2021.

and consular rank, with the exception of religious posts which, although important, did not have a direct impact on the senatorial *cursus honorum*.

As previously mentioned, senatorial governorships of provinces were divided into praetorian and consular ones. Their different rank required different criteria for selecting candidates for governors, and the age of the nominees also varied. The nominations to the office of the praetorian rank (held by junior senators) were often determined by social origin, the support of the *gens*, the patronage of influential people, and less importantly by personal merits and experience, which were difficult to obtain before the praetorship. In the case of the offices of the consular rank (held by senior senators), relations with the emperor, personal merits, skills and experience gained during one's career were more important than other factors. As a result, experienced and reliable senators were awarded consular provinces, often with legions.

The level of importance of the governorship of praetorian and consular provinces was different. Praetorian governorships developed skills, gave experience and recognition, and brought people closer to a consulship (it was awarded to about a quarter of senators). Consular governorships, on the other hand, were a sign of the emperor's trust in a given senator and the prestige he enjoyed. After governorships of the consular rank, one could also count on a second consulship[3] (L. Fabius Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus, L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus, P. Septimius Geta) and a City prefecture (L. Fabius Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus, L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus). The entire of a senator's family benefited from his promotion. His children and even grandchildren could achieve patrician status[4]; they could also (along with other younger relatives) go to the governor's (their elder relative's) province as his legates[5]. In this way, the basic principles of the functioning of the *gens* in terms of promotion were implemented: the inheritance of prestige and family solidarity. Clients, who could derive various profits from the higher status of their patron, also benefited.

There were internal divisions among the praetorian and consular governorships: some governors were nominated by the emperor (*legati Augusti pro praetore*), while some by the Senate (*proconsules*)[6]. As there were no nominations

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[3] If the first consulship was a suffect one (*suffectus*), the second one was usually ordinary (*ordinarius*).

[4] This is evidenced, for example, by the case of a *homo novus* C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes, whose son, grandson and further descendants were patricians. For *Vettii*, see e.g. *PIR*^{2} V 472, 473, 474, 485; Corbier 1974: 268–277, no. 54; eadem 1982: 734; Dietz 1980: 248–250; Mennen 2011: 127–130; Okoń 2017: no. 1012; eadem 2021: 259–270; Settipani 2000: 333–335.

[5] This position was referred to in inscriptions as, for instance: *legatus provinciae* (here the name of the proconsular province was used), *legatus proconsulis provinciae*, *legatus pro praetore provinciae* or in short: *legatus Asiae* or *legatus Africae*.

[6] Due to the different nomenclature, even when an inscription is partially damaged, it can be recognised whether we are dealing with an imperial legate or a senatorial proconsul. Sometimes it

without the emperor's approval during the late Principate, even candidates put forward by the Senate had to get his prior approval[7]. We can assume that both types of governorships had one thing in common – they could not be awarded to those who did not enjoy the emperor's trust and favour.

Under the Severan dynasty 11 provinces were ruled by the Senate[8] (nine of which were praetorian[9] and two consular[10]), while 27 were ruled by the emperor[11]

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is more difficult to determine whether it was a governorship of the praetorian or the consular rank, especially if, due to the damaged state of an inscription, references to offices allowing for temporal ordering of the posts held by a given senator were not preserved.

[7] Provincial proconsuls were elected by the Senate by drawing lots. It is worth noting, however, that Cassius Dio, when describing the reign of Augustus (Cass. Dio LIII 14, 3–4), mentioned that, due to the ineptitude of some proconsuls, the election of candidates to these positions later passed into the hands of the emperor, who made sure that the number of candidates included in the draw was equal to the number of provinces to be governed. It is not known when this procedure became a rule. --- Certainly under the Antonines the formula of drawing lots (at least in the case of the proconsuls of Asia and Africa) was maintained. According to Alföldy (1977: 122–124), it consisted of three stages: creating a list of candidates, then drawing from it an appropriate number of names (this was the *sortitio* proper), and finally dividing the provinces between the two selected candidates, in which process the following might be taken into account: their earlier careers, their ancestors and the number of children they had (as in the case of other offices: see Tac. *Ann*. II 51). --- In the Severan period (which was marked by numerous civil and external wars), the position of the emperor strengthened significantly and it was him who, in a formal or informal manner, preselected candidates before the *sortitio* proper. For this opinion, see, for example, Alföldy 1977: 122–124; Hurlet 2005: 271–279. --- It should be added that Cassius Dio (a contemporary of the Severans) mentioned the omission of Q. Anicius Faustus by Septimius Severus "in the line for the drawing of allocations for provinces" (which shows that the pre-election procedure was controlled by the emperor and that arbitrariness was employed in awarding governorships); he also discussed arbitrary appointments to the proconsulships of Asia and Africa made by Caracalla and Macrinus without consulting the Senate (see Cass. Dio LXXVIII 22, 2–5). --- To sum up, the course of the procedure is clear, and the influence of the emperors of the Severan dynasty on appointments to the governorships of senatorial provinces can be considered decisive (by omitting inconvenient candidates and supporting their own in the promotions).

The picture resulting from historiographical sources is complemented by epigraphic relics. For example: (1) *CIL* IX 4119 = HD030997 (1st–2nd cent.) is an inscription relating to Sex.Tadius Sex. f. Vol. Lusius Nepos Paullinus, who was "proco(n)s(ul) [---] sortitus prov(inciae) Cret(ae) Cyr(enarum)". Thus he was never a consul, and the *sortitio* referred to the drawing of a senatorial province of the praetorian rank. As can be assumed, it was employed in the pre-Severan period. (2) *AE* 1975, 20 = *AE* 1983, 68 = EDR 078788, a calendar from Rome, not precisely dated, but mentioning *ludi circenses Marcomannis victis* (Antonines, Severans?); according to this calendar, on the fourth day before the Nones of December there was "Quaest(orum) sor(titio)", which suggests that even among the quaestors there was a pre-selection of candidates and that as many names were drawn as were needed for the appointment to the quaestorship. As can be seen, the *sortitio* procedure was widely used in appointments to various senatorial offices.

[8] In alphabetical order: Achaia, Africa proconsularis, Asia, Creta et Cyrena, Cyprus, Gallia Narbonensis, Hispania Baetica, Hispania Lusitania, Lycia et Pamphylia, Macedonia, Sicilia.

[9] Achaia, Creta et Cyrena, Cyprus (transitionally consular under Caracalla/Macrinus), Gallia Narbonensis, Hispania Baetica, Hispania Lusitania, Lycia et Pamphylia, Macedonia, Sicilia.

[10] Asia, Africa proconsularis.

[11] In alphabetical order: Arabia, Aquitania, Belgica, Britannia inferior, Britannia superior, Bithynia et Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Dalmatia, Galatia, Gallia Lugdunensis, Germania superior, Germania inferior, Hispania citerior, Hispania Tarraconensis, Moesia superior, Moesia inferior,

(12 of which were praetorian[12] and 15 consular[13]). The figures given refer to the year 216, and they will be used in my further calculations. Previously, there had been a reorganisation of the following provinces: Syria (divided into Syria Coele and Syria Phoenice[14]), Hispania Tarraconensis (divided into Hispania Tarraconensis and Hispania citerior[15]), Britannia (divided into Britannia superior and Britannia inferior[16]), Numidia (granted the status of an independent province[17]) and Pannonia inferior (raised from the praetorian to consular rank in 214). There were a total of 38 provinces: 21 of the praetorian rank and 17 of the consular rank. In the Senate, which amounted to approx. 900–1,000 members, the number of posts for governors seems small, but provincial *fasti* demonstrate that some senators governed several provinces successively. This proves that in a given year there could be a shortage of experienced, trusted and at the same time willing people who would go to the provinces. On the other hand, there

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Noricum, Numidia, Pannonia superior, Pannonia inferior (consular since 214), Raetia, Syria Coele, Syria Phoenicae, Syria Palaestina, Thracia, Tres Daciae.

[12] Arabia, Aquitania, Belgica, Britannia inferior, Cilicia, Galatia, Gallia Lugdunensis, Noricum, Numidia, Raetia, Syria Phoenice, Thracia. Until 214, Pannonia inferior was also in this category.

[13] Bithynia et Pontus, Britannia superior, Cappadocia, Dalmatia, Germania superior, Germania inferior, Hispania citerior, Hispania Tarraconensis, Moesia superior, Moesia inferior, Pannonia superior, Pannonia inferior (consular since 214), Syria Coele, Syria Palaestina, Tres Daciae.

[14] The first separate governor of Syria Phoenice, Ti. Manilius Fuscus, is attested in 194, while the first separate governor of Syria Coele, L. Alfenus Senecio, in 200 or slightly earlier (see Thomasson 1984: col. 315, no. 71; col. 318, no. 98). This allows us to assume that the division took place shortly after Septimius Severus defeated his rival to the purple, Pescennius Niger.

[15] The first governor of the province of Hispania citerior was C. Iulius Cerealis, who presented his promotion as follows: "co(n)s(ul) [leg(atus)] / Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) pr(ovinciae) H(ispaniae) n(ovae) c(iterioris) An[toni]/nianae post divi[sam] / provinc(iam) primus ab eo [missus]" (*CIL* II 2661 = *ILS* 1157 = *HEp* 1989, 390 = *HEp* 2001, 297).

[16] The earliest inscriptions attesting to the existence of two provinces in Britain are cautiously dated to 201–300 (*CIL* VII 281 = *RIB* 747 = EDH 70001 and *AE* 1980, 604 = *RIB* 2411, 36 = EDH 5134), or more definitely to 215–235 (*CIL* VIII 2766 = *CIL* VIII 18131 = *ILS* 2762 = EDCS 20800630). A.R. Birley (2005: 333–336) summarised a long-term discussion about the date of division and deployment of legions in Britain, stating that it is impossible to date the division exactly. He was in favour of AD 216. The division certainly took place under the first Severans. In my opinion, Britannia was divided into the superior and inferior provinces in 197, but both provinces had the same consular legate. The exact moment of their division is impossible to establish. See Okoń 2022.

[17] The earliest inscriptions using the term *provincia Numidia* come from around AD 208–210 (Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus: *ILS* 9488) and around AD 215–218 (Sex. Varius Marcellus: *CIL* X 6569 = *IGR* I 402 = *ILS* 478 = EDH 33484). However, it is agreed that the first legate of Numidia around AD 197–198 was Q. Anicius Faustus, who was titled in the inscriptions as "leg. Augg. pr. pr.". Many inscriptions also include the following terms: "consul designatus", "consul" and "leg. Augg. pr. pr. consularis", which suggests that he governed Numidia both before and during the consulship (*in absentia)*.

were many individuals willing to be appointed to the very prestigious proconsulships of Asia and Africa[18].

From the time of Augustus, the rule was that senatorial provinces did not have legions, as they were safe and usually internal provinces[19]. Imperial provinces, on the other hand, could have legions, particularly if they were located next to the limes provinces, which were in danger of external invasions.

Under the Severans, legions were stationed in six imperial praetorian provinces: Arabia, Britannia inferior, Noricum, Numidia, Raetia and Syria Phoenice, and in twelve consular provinces: Britannia superior, Cappadocia, Germania superior, Germania inferior, Hispania Tarraconensis, Moesia superior, Moesia inferior, Pannonia inferior (praetorian until AD 214), Pannonia superior, Syria Coele, Syria Palaestina and Tres Daciae. There were six imperial praetorian provinces without legions: Aquitania, Belgica, Cilicia, Galatia, Gallia Lugdunensis and Thracia, and three such consular provinces: Bithynia et Pontus, Dalmatia and Hispania citerior. Thus, under the management of the emperor, there were 18 provinces with legions (6 + 12) and 9 without legions (6 + 3). As a rule, the governorship of a senatorial province lasted one year, and that of an imperial province 2–3 years. For provinces of the praetorian rank: 9 senatorial and 12 imperial ones, there was a greater demand for senatorial proconsuls than for imperial legates[20]. As the time passed, former senatorial proconsuls prevailed over *legati Augusti* in the administration of the praetorian level. Appointments to offices in praetorian provinces took place with considerable involvement of influential senatorial families. The emperor may not have known the careers and abilities of young senators, so he probably followed the opinions of people from imperial chancelleries and trusted friends (*amici*, *comites*, members of the *consilium principis*).

The tendency in appointments to consular provinces was different; with 15 imperial provinces compared to two senatorial ones, the emperor's nominees dominated in the administration[21]. The candidates were well known, and it must

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[18] When selecting candidates for these posts, attention was drawn, among other aspects, to their family background; here, representatives of *gentes senatoriae* were preferred. For appointment procedures relating to these offices, see note 7 above.

[19] The province of Africa was an exception: although senatorial, this was a frontier province, with a legion stationed in Numidia. For the separation of Numidia from the province of Africa, see below in the main text.

[20] For example, in a time span of three years, nine senatorial praetorian provinces needed 27 proconsuls, and 12 imperial provinces needed 12 legates. During the rule of the entire Severan dynasty (42 years), the figures are 378 proconsuls and 168 provincial legates, respectively. Assuming that the legateships of imperial provinces lasted two years, the differences decrease.

[21] For example, in a time span of three years, two senatorial consular provinces needed six proconsuls, and 15 imperial provinces needed 15 legates. Throughout the rule of the entire Severan dynasty (42 years), the figures are 84 proconsuls and 210 provincial legates, respectively. When

be assumed that their *cursus* was long and full of merit. Therefore, their selection did not have to be supported by the participation of third parties (which does not mean that it was not).

When we total the number of governors of praetorian and consular provinces for the 42 years of Severan rule, we get the number of 840 senators (378 imperial *legati* and 462 senatorial proconsuls)[22], which is approx. 42–47% of all the senators of that period (1800–2000). Annually, the Empire needed an average of 20 new governors. In addition, there were numerous offices of various types in the administrative structure (e.g. legionary commands, curatorships or juridicates). Some senators (especially after a consulship) did not want to hold offices, especially far from home, so they gave up their empire-wide careers in favour of local activities. At the same time, the dying out of *gentes senatoriae* forced the promotion of equestrians to the senatorial order[23]. Therefore, the administration of the Empire was characterised by a constant fluctuation of staff.

In this paper, I wish to answer the following questions: what were the chances of former military tribunes being awarded governorships of provinces of different ranks; how many former tribunes (*laticlavii* and *angusticlavii*) that are known to us governed praetorian and consular provinces; what was the type of provinces governed by them (imperial, senatorial, with or without legions); what were the proportions between governorships of the praetorian and the consular rank; did a tribunate in conjunction with legionary command increase the chances of getting a province with legionary troops; what was the order in which governorships of provinces appeared in the *cursus honorum*; how many governors were awarded a suffect and how many an ordinary consulship; and how many former military tribunes were awarded proconsulships of Asia or Africa.

II. TABULAR COMPARISONS OF THE *CURSUS HONORUM*

The tables below present the careers of *tribuni laticlavii* and *tribuni angusticlavii* separately. I used a similar division in my previous papers; this is due to the different career models occurring in both groups.

Bearing in mind that the senatorial *cursus* featured provinces at the praetorian and consular stages, it is worth recalling the basic rules governing each of them. The following regularity is noticeable at the praetorian stage: the better the social background, the smaller the number of offices of the praetorian rank prior to the

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analysing post-consular careers, it can be seen that they were reserved for those privileged by the emperor. In this way, the rulers shaped the elite of the Empire.

[22] These numbers are the total of the respective figures given in notes 20 and 21 above, but it should be noted that there was a one-time generation change under the Severans. The given figures are hypothetical and constitute a mathematical calculation. The picture that they provide is not fully attested in the sources, but it shows the limit values well. For research purposes, I assumed them to be applicable.

[23] Okoń 2012: 99–100 and 2013: 150–151.

consulship. Thus, patricians could hold fewer offices than other representatives of *gentes senatoriae*, and also *homines novi*.

My classification of careers takes this into account and introduces the following divisions[24]:

A. Senatorial:
– shortened (without offices of the praetorian rank),
– short (one office of the praetorian rank),
– standard (two to four offices of the praetorian rank),
– long (five and more offices of the praetorian rank).
B. Mixed (equestrian and senatorial offices).
C. Atypical (senatorial promotion at the consular level):
– *ornamenta consularia*,
– *adlectio inter consulares*.

Representatives of *gentes senatoriae* (including patricians) are found only in type A, and *homines novi* partly in type A (standard and long careers), B[25] and C.

At the consular stage, the differences were blurred. The career patterns of senators were similar and, as a rule, they featured one or two offices. If a given senator was the emperor's relative, friend or associate, his career could be longer.

The tables below show individual (the number of offices in the *cursus*) and empire-wide conditions (the number of governorships to be appointed) at the praetorian and consular stages.

Table 1: Careers of former *tribuni laticlavii*[26]

NO	NOMEN	CAREER AFTER THE PRAETORSHIP	CONSULSHIP	CAREER AFTER THE CONSULSHIP
1.	C. Aemilius Berenicianus	1. legatus pro praetore provinciae Asiae **(sleg)** 2. proconsul splendidissimae provinciae Narbonensis **(sleg)**	cos. suff. aetate Severi Alexandri	–
2.	(M?) Antonius Memmius Hiero	1. praefectus aerarii [Saturni?] 2. legatus missus ad corrigendum statum Galatiae, item [ad cognoscendas] vice Caesaris [cognitiones]	cos. suff. ca. a. 244	1. legatus Augustorum pro praetore Cappadociae **(cleg)** 2. legatus provinciae Ponti Bithyniae **(sleg)**

[24] For more on this, see Окоń 2018, *passim*.

[25] In special cases, when the equestrian *cursus* of a promoted individual was longer (*tres/quattuor militiae*, procuratorial offices, etc.), the number of offices of the praetorian rank might be low: one or two offices. This applied to elderly equestrians.

[26] The names of representatives of *gentes senatoriae* are marked with bold type. The name of a province may be accompanied by the following two designations: "sleg" (*sine legione/legionibus*) or "cleg" (*cum legione/legionibus*). Various forms of the titulature found in the table result from the entries in the inscriptions that have survived.

3.	**C. Arrius Calpurnius Longinus**	1. legatus Karthaginis (legatus provinciae Africae dioecesis Carthaginiensium) **(sleg)**	cos. suff. aetate Gordiani III	–
4.	**L. Aurelius Gallus**	1. legatus legionis I adiutricis	cos. ord. a. 198	1. curator aedium sacrarum et operum publicorum 2. legatus pro praetore Moesiae inferioris **(cleg)**
5.	**C. Caerellius Fufidius Annius Ravus Pollitianus**	1. proconsul provinciae Macedoniae **(sleg)**	–	–
6.	C. Caesonius Macer Rufinianus	1. legatus (proconsulis) provinciae Asiae **(sleg)** 2. curator rei publicae Asculanorum 3. legatus legionis VII Claudiae 4. proconsul provinciae Achaiae **(sleg)** 5. curator rei publicae Tarracinensium 6. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Lusitaniae **(sleg)** 7. curator rei publicae Teanensium	cos. suff. ca. a. 197–198	1. curator alvei Tiberis 2. legatus Augusti pro praetore Germaniae superioris **(cleg)** 3. curator aquarum et Miniciae 4. proconsul provinciae Africae **(sleg)** 5. curator rei publicae Lanuvinorum II 6. comes imp. Severi Alexandri Aug.
7.	**P. Catius Sabinus**	1. leg. Augg. pr. pr. provinciae Norici **(cleg)** ?	cos. suff. ante a. 210, cos. II ord. a. 216	post cos. I: 1. curator aedium sacrarum operumque publicorum
8.	Ti. Cl(audius) Me[vius? P]riscus Ruf[inus I] unior	1. legatus proconsulis provinciae Narbonensis **(sleg)** 2. legatus proconsulis provinciae Cretae **(sleg)** 3. praefectus Miniciae 4. proconsul provinciae Achaiae **(sleg)** 5. legatus proconsulis provinciae Africae **(sleg)**	–	–
9.	T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus	1. curator [...] 2. curator viae Labicanae et Latinae veteris 3. iuridicus per Flaminiam et Umbriam 4. iuridicus [provinciae Hispaniae ci]terioris vice (legatus) legionis 5. curator viae Appiae	cos. suff. ca. a. 223	1. curator rei publicae Reatinorum 2. curator operum publicorum 3. curator rei publicae Leptitanorum 4. censor provinciae Galliae Lugdunensis 5. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae

				Germaniae [inferioris] **(cleg)** 6. comes domini nostri 7. electus a domino nostro (...) ad appellationes Caesarianas vice sacras iudicandas
10.	T? Cuspidius Flaminius Severus	?	cos. suff. ante a. 238	1. leg. pr. pr. Cappadociae (c**leg)** 2. leg. III Daciarum? **(cleg)** 3. leg. provinciae inferioris (ignotae) **(cleg)**
11.	M. Domitius Valerianus	1. legatus Augusti legionis XII fulminatae certae constantis 2. legatus Augusti ad corrigendum statum civitatum Pamphyliae 3. legatus Augusti legionis VII Claudiae 4. proconsul Siciliae **(sleg)** 5. legatus Augusti pro praetore Galatiae **(sleg)** 6. legatus Augusti pro praetore Ciliciae **(sleg)** 7. legatus Augusti pro praetore Arabiae **(cleg)**	cos. suff. 238/239	–
12.	L. Fabius Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus	1. legatus Augusti legionis XVI Flaviae firmae 2. proconsul provinciae Narbonensis **(sleg)** 3. praefectus aerarii militaris 4. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Galatiae **(sleg)**	cos. suff. a. 193, cos. II ord. a. 204	post cos. I: 1. praepositus vexillationum Illyricianis Perinthi tendentibus 2. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Bithyniae et Ponti **(sleg)** 3. comes Imperatoris in expeditione orientali 4. curator Nicomedensium, Interamnatium Nartium, Graviscanorum 5. legatus Augusti pro praetore Moesiae superioris **(cleg)** 6. dux vexillationum per Italiam exercitus Imperatorum 7. legatus Augusti pro praetore Pannoniae superioris **(cleg)** post cos. I et post cos. II: 8. praefectus Urbi

13.	Q. Flavius Balbus	1. proconsul Achaiae **(sleg)** 2. legatus Augusti pro praetore Arabiae **(cleg)**	cos. suff. sub Severis	–
14.	T. Fl(avius) Claudianus	1. legatus Thraciae? **(sleg)** ?	–	–
15.	T. Flavius Secundus Philippianus	1. legatus legionum I Minerviae et XIIII geminae 2. leg. Auggg. provinciae Lugdunensis **(sleg)**	–	–
16.	**M. Gavius Crispus Num[isi]us Iunior**	1. legatus legionis X geminae 2. proconsul Lyciae et Pamphyliae **(sleg)**	cos. suff. ante a. 200	1. proconsul Asiae **(sleg)**
17.	**Q. Hedius Lollianus Plautius Avitus**	1. iuridicus Asturiae et Callaeciae **(sleg)** 2. legatus legionis VII geminae piae felicis	cos. ord. a. 209	1. ?proconsul Asiae **(sleg)**
18.	**Q. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus**	1. legatus legionis X[X]II primigeniae 2. curator civitatum splendidissimarum Puteolanorum et Veliternorum	cos. suff. ante a. 193	1. legatus Augg. pro praetore provinciae Hispaniae citerioris = praeses optimus item censitor Hispaniae citerioris **(sleg)** 2. comes Augustorum ter 3. censitor provinciae Lugdunensis, item Lugdunensium **(sleg)** 4. proconsul Asiae sub Severo et Antonino Augustis **(sleg)**
19.	[Iasdius]	1. cur(ator) [r(ei) p(ublicae) Fulginatium] 2. [leg(atus) le]g(ionis) XIIII gem(inae) [et leg(ionis) ...] 3. praef(ectus) al[imentorum] 4. [cur(ator) viae Aem]iliae	cos. suff. sub Severis	1. [leg(atus)] Aug(usti) pr(o) [pr(aetore) prov(inciae) III] Daciaru[m] [et Panno?] niae I[nferioris] **(cleg)** 2. [legatus A]ugusti pr(o) p[raetore provinciae ...?]
20.	L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus	1. legatus Augusti vice quinque fascium provinciae Belgicae **(sleg)** 2. legatus legionis I adiutricis 3. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Galatiae **(sleg)** 4. legatus legionis III Augustae Severianae et provinciae Numidiae **(cleg)**	cos. suff. a. 226 aut 227	–

21.	C. Iulius Septimius Castinus	1. curator Ae[c]lan(ensium) 2. curator viae Salariae 3. iuridicus per Apuliam Calabriam Lucaniam Bruttios 4. proconsul Cretae et Cyrenarum **(sleg)** 5. legatus legionis primae Minerviae 6. dux vexillationum quattuor legionum Germaniae VIII Augustae XXII primigeniae, I Minerviae, XXX Ulpiae "adversus defectores et rebelles" 7. legatus Augustorum Pannoniae inferioris **(cleg)**	cos. suff. ca. a. 212–213	1. leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Daciae (trium Daciarum) **(cleg)**
22.	**M. Iuventius Secundus Rixa Postumius Pansa Valerianu[s ...] Severus**	1. praefectus frumenti dandi 2. [...]t(...) 3. proconsul provinciae [...] **(sleg)** 4. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Aquitaniae **(sleg)**	cos. suff. sub Severo Alexandro	1. curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum Urbis
23.	L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus	1. curator viae Latinae 2. curator rei publicae Faventinorum 3. legatus legionis I Italicae 4. dux exercitus Mysiaci apud Byzantium et apud Lugdunum 5. legatus Augustorum duorum pro praetore provinciae Belgicae **(sleg)**	cos. suff. ca. a. 199, cos. II ord. a. 223	post cos. I: 1. legatus Augustorum duorum pro praetore provinciae Germaniae inferioris **(cleg)** 2. legatus Augustorum duorum pro praetore provinciae Syriae Coele **(cleg)** 3. proconsul provinciae Asiae **(sleg)** 4. proconsul provinciae Asiae iterum **(sleg)** 5. praefectus Urbi 6. proconsul Africae **(sleg)** post cos. II: 7. patronus et curator coloniae Ardeatinorum
24.	L. Marius Perpetuus (cos. suff. ante a. 203–205)	1. legatus Augustorum legionis XVI Flaviae firmae fidelis 2. praeses Arabiae **(cleg)** 3. curator rerum publicarum Urbisalviensium item Tusculanorum	cos. suff. ante a. 203–205	1. leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Moesiae superioris **(cleg)** 2. consularis Daciarum III **(cleg)** 3. ?proconsul Asiae *aut* Africae **(sleg)**

25.	**L. Marius Perpetuus** (cos. ord. a. 237)	1. [procos. prov. Sic- *aut* iuridicus Aem]iliae **(sleg)** 2. [curator viae Labica]nae et Latinae ve[teris] 3. leg. leg. VII [geminae *aut* Claudiae *aut* -I Augustae] 4. [leg. pro praet. prov. Aqui]tanicae **(sleg)** 5. a sena[tu electo]	cos. ord. a. 237	–
26.	M. Marius Titius Rufinus	1. curator Amerinorum 2. proconsul provinciae Siciliae **(sleg)** 3. curator coloniae Claudiae Augustae pro Arae Agrippinensium 4. legatus legionis I Minerviae piae fidelis	cos. suff. post a. 231	–
27.	C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albius	1. iuridicus per Italiam regionis Transpadanae 2. legatus Augusti legionis VII Claudiae 3. proconsul provinciae Baeticae **(sleg)** 4. praefectus Miniciae 5. curator viae Flaminiae 6. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Norici **(cleg)**	cos. suff. a. 191 *aut* a. 192	1. [cor]rec[tor Italiae ?] 2. [leg. pr. pr. prov. Germaniae *vel* Moesiae *vel* Pannoniae superio- *vel* inferio]ris **(cleg)**
28.	P. Plotius Romanus Cassianus Neo	1. curator Vercellensium 2. curator viae Labicanae 3. iuridicus per Aemiliam Liguriam 4. legatus Augusti censibus accipiendis Hispaniae citerioris **(sleg)** 5. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Arabiae **(cleg)** 6. item Galatiae **(sleg)**	cos. suff. ante Alexandrum Severum	–
29.	Tib. Pontius Pontianus	?	cos. suff. sub Antonino (*Elagabalo*)	1. leg. Aug. pr. pr. Pannoniae inferioris **(cleg)**
30.	P. Septimius Geta	1. legatus legionis I Italicae 2. proconsul Siciliae **(sleg)** 3. legatus Augg. pro praetore Lusitaniae **(sleg)**	cos. suff. ante a. 191, cos. II ord. a. 203	post cos. I: 1. leg. Auggg. pr. pr. Moesiae inferioris **(cleg)** 2. leg. Auggg. pr. pr. provinciarum Daciarum **(cleg)**

31.	T. Statilius Barbarus	1. [legatus legionis (?) *aut* donatus donis militaribus b]ello Parth(ico) Mesop(otameno) 2. leg(atus) Augg(ustorum) prov(inciae) Thrac(iae) **(sleg)**	cos. suff. a. 198 *aut* 199	1. [curator aedium sacrarum et operum publicorum (?)] 2. legatus Augustorum duorum provinciae Germaniae superioris **(cleg)** 3. [proconsul Asiae/ Africae (?)] **(sleg)**
32	M. Umbrius Primus	1. curator viae Aureliae 2. proconsul Lyciae et Pamphyliae **(sleg)**	cos. suff. ca. a. 185–190	1. proconsul Africae **(sleg)**
33.	Anonymus (*AE* 1952, 95 = *AE* 1959, 204b = *AE* 1961, 37)	1. iuridicus per Flaminiam et [Picenum?] 2. praeses Pannoniae **(cleg)** 3. proconsul Macedoniae **(sleg)** 4. legatus pro praetore Dalmatiae **(sleg)** 5. agens vice praef[ecti Urbi?]	cos. suff. sub Septimio Severo?	–
34.	M. Aureli[us ...]	1. [...] 2. legatus provinciae [...] 3. [curator via]rum Salaria[e] 4. [iuridicus per] Liguriam 5. legatus legio[nis ...]	–	–
35.	**L. Calpurnius Proculus**	1. curator viarum Anniae Clodiae Cassiae Ciminiae et trium Traianarum 2. legatus legionis I Minerviae 3. proconsul Achaiae **(sleg)** 4. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Belgicae **(sleg)**	cos. suff. sub Severis	1. proconsul Asiae? **(sleg)**
36.	L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis	1. legatus Augustorum legionis XX Valeriae victricis 2. proconsul provinciae Narbonenesis **(sleg)** 3. praefectus aerarii Saturni	cos. suff. saec. II/III	–
37.	**[...] Egr[ilius Plarianus Larcius Lep]idus [Flavius** ...?**]**	1. [leg(atus) le]gionis XXX Ulpia[e ...] 2. [leg(atus) Aug]ustorum pr(o) pr(aetore) [provinciae Lugdun(ensis)?] **(sleg)**	cos. suff. sub Commodo?	–
38.	Q. Gargilius Macer Aufidianus	1. proconsul provinciarum Cretae Cyrenarum **(sleg)** 2. leg. A[u]g(ustorum) provinciae Hispaniae citerioris **(sleg)**	–	–

39.	**Tib. Iulius Frugi**	1. legatus pr. pr. prov. Baeticae **(sleg)** 2. legatus pr. pr. prov. Ponti et Bithyniae **(sleg)** 3. legatus pr. pr. prov. Asiae **(sleg)** 4. legatus legionis VII [geminae?] 5. praefectus frumenti dandi 6. praefectus aerarii militaris 7. proconsul prov. Lyciae **(sleg)**	cos suff. sub Severis?	–
40.	P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus	1. legatus pro praetore provinciae Africae **(sleg)** 2. legatus Augusti legionis X geminae 3. legatus Augustorum super vexillationes in Cappadocia 4. legatus Augustorum (Augusti) pro praetore provinciae Arabiae **(cleg)**	cos. suff. ca. a. 165–167	1. proconsul provinciae Macedoniae **(sleg)** 2. proconsul Asiae **(sleg)**
41.	**L. Iunius Rufinus Proculianus**	1. legatus pro praetore provinciae Dalmatiae **(sleg)** ?	cos. suff. ca. a. 180	–
42.	C. Postumius Africanus	1. [leg(atus) p]ro pr(aetore) (proconsulis provinciae Africae?) **(sleg)** ?	–	–
43.	[P]riscus	1. [legatus Augusti pro praetore Gal]liae (*aut* [provin]ciae) [Belgi]cae **(sleg)** ?	–	–
44.	**Q. Servilius Pudens**	1. praefectus frumenti dandi 2. iuridicus Aemiliae et Flaminiae 3. proconsul Cretae et Cyrenarum **(sleg)** 4. [...]	–	–
45.	Anonymus (*AE* 1950, 91 = *AE* 1974, 344)	1. [leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg] ion(is) XI Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis) 2. [leg(atus) pr(o)] praet(ore) prov(inciae) T[hraciae] **(sleg)** *aut* P[ann. inf.] **(cleg)**	–	–
46.	Anonymus (*AE* 1907, 48 = *IGR* I 1481)	1. [curator viarum Aureliae] Corneliae t[riumphalis] 2. [iuridi]cus Apuliae 3. leg. [Augusti] pr. pr. prov. Thraciae **(sleg)**	–	–

47.	[.....]anus S[...]	1. leg. Aug[(usti) *vel* (ustorum) pro praetore pr]ovin[ciae Lug]/[dunen]sis **(sleg)**	–	–

Table 2: Careers of former *tribuni angusticlavii*[27]

NO	NOMEN	CAREER AFTER THE PRAETORSHIP	CONSULSHIP	CAREER AFTER THE CONSULSHIP
1.	Tib. Claudius Candidus	1. curator civitatum Teanensium 2. legatus pro praetore provinciae Asiae **(sleg)** 3. logista civitatis splendidissimae Nicomedensium item Ephesiorum 4. dux exercitus Illyrici expeditione Asiana 5. item Parthica 6. item Gallica	cos. suff. post a. 195	1. dux exercitus Illyrici expeditione Gallica 2. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Hispaniae citerioris **(sleg)** et in ea dux terra marique adversus rebelles hostes publicos
2.	Ti. Claudius Claudianus	1. legatus legionis XIII geminae et V Macedonicae 2. praepositus vexillationum Daciscarum 3. legatus Auggg. pro praetore provinciarum et exercituum Pannoniae inferioris et superioris **(cleg)**	cos. suff. ca. a. 199	1. legatus pro praetore provinciae Pannoniae superioris **(cleg)** 2. curator operum publicorum?
3.	Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus	1. curator Athenensium et Patrensium 2. legatus legionis VI ferratae f. c. 3. legatus Auggg. pro praetore provinciae Numidiae **(cleg)**	cos. suff. a. 210 aut 211	–
4.	C. Domitius Antigonus	1. curator rei publicae Tudertinorum 2. legatus legionis V Macedonicae Antoninianae 3. legatus legionis XXII primigeniae piae fidelis Antoninianae	cos. suff. ca. a. 225	1. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Moesiae inferioris **(cleg)**

[27] The name of a province may be accompanied by the following two designations: "sleg" (*sine legione/legionibus*) or "cleg" (*cum legione/legionibus*). Various forms of the titulature found in the table result from the entries in the inscriptions that have survived.

5.	C. Iulius Avitus Alexianus	1. leg(atus) leg(ionis) III[I Fl(aviae?)] 2. leg(atus) Au[g(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)] provi[nciae Raetiae] **(cleg)**	cos. suff. sub Septimio Severo	1. [co]mes imperatorum Severi et Antonini in B[ritannia] 2. [praef(ectus)] alimentorum 3. [comes Imp(eratoris)] Antonini [Aug(usti) in Germania *aut* in Mesopotamia] 4. praef(ectus) aliment(orum) II 5. [leg(atus) pr(o) pr(aetore)] provin[ciae Dalmatiae] **(sleg)** 6. procon[sul prov(inciae) Asiae] **(sleg)** 7. ?proconsul Cypri **(sleg)**
6.	[L? S] ept(imius) Maria[nus]	1. [leg. Au]g. pro pr(aetore) Ponti **(sleg)** ?	cos. suff. saec. II exeunte aut saec. III ineunte	–
7.	C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes	1. legatus provinciae Asiae **(sleg)** 2. legatus Augusti ad ordinandos status insularum Cycladum **(sleg)** 3. iuridicus per tractus Etruriae, Aemiliae, Liguriae 4. legatus legionis III Italicae 5. legatus Augusti rationibus putandis trium Galliarum **(sleg)** 6. legatus legionis XIIII geminae cum iurisdicatu Pannoniae superioris 7. praefectus aerarii Saturni 8. legatus Augusti pro praetore Pannoniae inferioris **(cleg)** 9. praepositus vexillationibus ex Illyrico missis	cos. suff. ca. a. 175–176	1. curator aedium sacrarum 2. curator rei publicae Puteolanorum 3. legatus Augusti pro praetore Dalmatiae **(sleg)** 4. legatus Augusti pro praetore III Daciarum **(cleg)** 5. legatus Augusti pro praetore Pannoniae superioris **(cleg)** 6. proconsul Africae **(sleg)**
8.	M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex	1. curator civitatis Ariminensium 2. legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Moesiae superioris **(cleg)**	cos. suff. ca. a. 175	1. leg. pro pr. prov. Moesiae inferioris **(cleg)**

9.	Anonymus legatus Aquitaniae (*AE* 1992, 1794).	1. [le]g(atus) Aug(usti) provinc(iae) Aquitania[e] **(sleg)**	–	–

III. COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSES

The tabular comparisons contain data on 47 *laticlavii* and 9 *angusticlavii*. This numerical disproportion resulted, among other reasons, from the fact that representatives of *gentes senatoriae* enjoyed easier access to offices and had a greater influence in the Senate. The total number of the tribunes presented above is 56 (47 + 9). Given that we know of 123 senators with a military tribunate in their *cursus*, we can say that almost one in two of them (approx. 45%) held a provincial governorship. As I have already shown, similar proportions were found throughout the Senate (approx. 42–47%), so there was no question of favouring former military tribunes in these appointments[28], although they were awarded provinces with legions slightly more often (see below). At the outset, it is worth noting that a governorship of the same province was not held twice, because staff rotation was one of the principles of Roman imperial administration.

Out of the 56 provincial governors analysed above, five held one office of the praetorian rank[29], 29 two to four offices[30] and 14 five and more[31]. The careers of eight are unknown or not fully known[32]. The number of offices in the *cursus* is in line with the social composition of the group, which consisted of representatives of the old *gentes* (including patricians) and *homines novi*, promoted at various

[28] It is possible that former military tribunes waited for the opportunity to take the post of a provincial governor with legionary troops (assuming in the meantime the posts of *iuridicus*, town and road curator, legate *ad census accipendos*, etc.), which may explain the figures appearing in the statistics given in the main text. In particular, frequently both at the praetorian and the consular stage, curatorships appeared in the *cursus*. As many as nine *laticlavii* (nos. 9, 19, 21, 23, 26, 28, 32, 35, 46) were awarded curatorships as their first office after the praetorship. At the post-consular stage, in the *cursus* of seven *laticlavii* (nos. 4, 6, 7, 9, 22, 23, 31) curatorships are found as first posts after the consulship (in the case of no. 23, after the second consulship). --- In the case of four *angusticlavii* (nos. 1, 3, 4, 8), curatorships were the first appointment of their praetorian career. At the post-consular stage, only two senators (nos. 2 and 7) held curatorships, one of them right after the consulship.

[29] *Laticlavii*: nos. 3, 4, 5, 47. *Angusticlavius*: no. 9.

[30] *Laticlavii*: nos. 1, 2, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 44, 45, 46. *Angusticlavii*: nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8.

[31] *Laticlavii*: nos. 6, 8, 9, 11, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 33, 34, 39. *Angusticlavii*: nos. 1, 7.

[32] *Laticlavii*: nos. 7, 10, 14, 29, 41, 42, 43. *Angusticlavius*: no. 6.

stages in their careers. The classification of careers presented above lacks individuals representing our type C (atypical careers).

More than half of the governors – 31 out of 56 (approx. 55%)[33] – were legion commanders at the praetorian stage. 19 of them governed praetorian or consular provinces with legions[34] and 12 without legions[35]. This is significant, especially if we take into account the proportions in the administration – in the Empire, provinces without legions were more numerous (20: 18), so statistically it was easier to get them. However, military tribunate in conjunction with legionary command in the *cursus* altered these proportions.

Out of the 56 senators presented in the above tables, 43 became consuls[36] (35 *laticlavii* and 8 *angusticlavii*). This constitutes approx. 77% of the entire group of governors under analysis. Bearing in mind that only every fourth senator (25%) attained a consulship, it should be assumed that the career model starting with the military tribunate, through obligatory municipal offices and additional praetorian rank offices more than tripled the chances of attaining a consulship. Seven senators from the group in question became ordinary consuls[37], while for four of them it was the second consulship (after the first – a suffect one)[38]. All the ordinary consuls in the group began their careers as *tribuni laticlavii*. Four belonged to *gentes senatoriae* (L. Aurelius Gallus, P. Catius Sabinus, Q. Hedius Lollianus Plautius Avitus and L. Marius Perpetuus) and three were *homines novi* (L. Fabius Cilo, L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus and P. Septimius Geta).

We have documented the post-consular careers of 28 senators[39]. They were often short. This was determined by age, health, family situation, etc. More specifically: ten governors held one office after the consulship[40], eight held two of-

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[33] 26 *laticlavii*: nos. 4, 6, 9 (*vice legati legionis*), 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 45; five *angusticlavii*: nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7.

[34] *Laticlavii*: nos. 4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 30, 31, 40. *Angusticlavii*: nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7.

[35] *Laticlavii*: nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, 25, 26, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 45. It is worth paying attention to the *cursus* of M. Aureli[us ...] (no. 34), who was the governor of an unknown imperial province, and only then was a legionary legate. Epigraphic practice shows that the province in question was without legionary command.

[36] From the group of *laticlavii*, the following became consuls: under the Antonines, nos. 27, 32, 37, 40, 41; under the Severans, nos. 1, 4 (*ord.*), 6, 7 (*suff.* and *ord.*), 9, ?10, 12 (*suff.* and *ord.*), 13, 16, 17 (*ord.*), 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 (*suff.* and *ord.*), 24, 26, 28, 29, 30 (*suff.* and *ord.*), 31, 33, 35, ?36, ?39; after the Severans, nos. 2, 3, 11, 25 (*ord.*). From the group of *angusticlavii*, the following became consuls: under the Antonines: nos. 7, 8; under the Severans: nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Although the calculations go beyond the Severan period, they present the careers of the senators in question in a broader time perspective.

[37] See items in the table: nos. 4, 7, 12, 17, 23, 25, 30.

[38] Nos. 7, 12, 23, 30.

[39] 22 *laticlavii* and six *angusticlavii.* See notes 40–43 below.

[40] *Laticlavii*: nos. 7, 16, 17, 21, 22, 29, 32, 35. *Angusticlavii*: nos. 4, 8.

fices[41], three – three offices[42] and seven – four and more offices[43], while for the others (15) there is no data on their post-consular career.

It is also worth paying attention to the issue of the number of Asian and African senatorial proconsulships. They were awarded to 12 senators from the group in question[44], including one who held the office three times (L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus). In the Severan period there were 84 proconsulships to be filled. Former military tribunes took 14 of the posts (approx. 17%), while the remaining 70 posts were filled by other senators. The chances of a statistical senator becoming a proconsul of Asia or Africa were approx. 5%[45]. Thus former tribunes had more than three times greater access to these prestigious functions. It should be noted that *tribuni laticlavii* got them faster than *angusticlavii* (after a smaller number of offices of the consular rank – see the tables above); for some they were their only post-consular offices.

IV. DETAILED ANALYSES

A. *Laticlavii*

In the group of 47 *laticlavii*, 27 governed only praetorian provinces[46], eight only consular provinces[47], and 12 governed provinces of both types[48]. That the number of attested praetorian governors was larger than that of consular governors (39: 20) was due to at least two reasons:

1. There were more provinces of the praetorian rank (21) than consular ones (17). This resulted in a correspondingly greater number of inscriptions commemorating governors of the praetorian rank[49].
2. Another reason is related to the dedication of the inscriptions and the chances of their being preserved. Reaching the consulship was the reason for the senator concerned, his family and friends, client cities, etc. to issue honorific and votive inscriptions Post-consular careers, on the other hand, are known from tomb inscriptions, which were usually individual and thus had less chance of being preserved (along with the *cursus* of the senator in question).

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[41] *Laticlavii*: nos. 2, 4, 19, 27, 30, 40. *Angusticlavii*: nos. 1, 2.

[42] *Laticlavii*: nos. 10, 24, 31. *Angusticlavii*: none.

[43] *Laticlavii*: nos. 6, 9, 12, 18, 23. *Angusticlavii*: nos. 5, 7.

[44] *Laticlavii*: nos. 6, 16, 17, 18, 23 (three times), ?24, ?31, 32, 35, 40. *Angusticlavii*: nos. 5, 7.

[45] The percentage is calculated on the basis of the number of senators: approx. 1,800–2,000, and the number of proconsulships from the Severan period: 84.

[46] Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 20, 22, 25, 26, 28, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47.

[47] Nos. 2, 4, 9, 10, 17, 18, 19, 29.

[48] Nos. 6, 12, 16, 21, 23, 24, 27, 30, 31, 32, 35, 40.

[49] Quantitatively, for the Severan period, the situation was as follows: governorships after the praetorship – 546, governorships after the consulship – 294. See notes 20 and 21 above.

In the group of 39 governors of praetorian provinces, 29 governed provinces without a legion[50], and only 10 governed provinces with a legionary garrison[51] (six of whom had previously commanded legions)[52]. This was due to the much smaller number of praetorian provinces with legions (seven out of 21 until AD 214, and later only six out of 21[53]). Looking at governorships of provinces with legionary troops, these were: Arabia in five cases[54], Pannonia inferior in two cases[55], Noricum in two cases[56], and Numidia in one case[57]. In these provinces (with the exception of Numidia), legionary commanders were administratively subject to provincial governors. For a long time, Numidia was part of the province of Africa proconsularis, governed by a senatorial proconsul[58]. The Legio III Augusta with a legate appointed by the emperor was stationed there. In the inscriptions, this legate was most often titled *legatus Augusti pro praetore legionis III Augustae* or *legatus pro praetore exercitus provinciae*[59]. Around AD 193 the reference to the Legio III Augusta and the troops of the province disappears from the legate's titulature. The designation *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, often accompanied by the title *consul designatus*[60], remains in the inscriptions; this proves the high position of legates who went to Rome from Numidia to serve as consuls[61]. Slightly later, the following terms appear

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[50] Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 22, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, ?34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, ?45, 46, 47.

[51] Such provinces were governed by nos. 7, 11, 13, 20, 21, 24, 27, 28, 33, 40.

[52] Nos. 11, 20, 21, 24, 27, 40.

[53] After changing the status of Pannonia inferior from praetorian to consular.

[54] Nos. 11, 13, 24, 28, 40.

[55] Nos. 21, 33.

[56] Nos. 7, 27.

[57] No. 20.

[58] For the establishment of the province of Numidia and its governors, see particularly the following works by Thomasson: 1960, 1996, 1984: coll. 393–408. In addition, I recommend, for example: E. Birley 1950: 60–68; Pflaum 1957: 61–75; Speidel 1973: 125–127; Ghaki, Laporte, Dupuis 2012: coll. 5633–5668.

[59] See, for instance: *CIL* VIII 2736, 2749, 18272; *CIL* XI 3718 = *ILS* 1053; AE 1920, 36. In the rescript of Antoninus Pius, the following title also appeared: *Numidiae legatus*, referring to the legate Tuscius Fuscianus, probably identical to L. Matuccius Fuscinus, a legionary legate in 158 (Thomasson 1996, 151–152, no. 31).

[60] A designated consul, i.e. elected for the next term of office. Contemporarily, the title that would correspond to it in terms of meaning would be consul-elect. For more on the title *consul designatus*, see Okoń 1994: 167–172 and 2008.

[61] It is worth trying to compare the position of legionary legates of the Legio III Augusta with that of legates of other legions. Thus, for example, in the Severan period, none of the legionary legates in Britain known to us (of the legions II Augusta, VI victrix and XX Valeria victrix) were appointed consuls immediately after their legateship. This comparison shows that the legate of the Legio III Augusta had a better starting position to apply for a consulship. Broader comparative analyses go beyond the scope of this paper.

in the titulature of some legates: *legatus legionis III Augustae et praeses provinciae Numidiae* or *legatus legionis III Augustae et provinciae Numidiae*[62], testifying to the command of the legion and, at the same time, to the governorship of the province by the same person. In the remaining "one legion" provinces, sources do not attest to the existence of a similar situation. The changes in the titulature presented above prove that a new imperial province was established – Numidia (separated from Africa proconsularis).

Such a non-standard combination of functions (legionary legate and provincial legate) was due to the fact that Numidia was small and was of a *strictly* military nature, so there was no need to maintain a double bureaucratic apparatus there. The change of the titulature was thus dictated by the need to clarify the status of the province and its administrative structure. As a result of the reform, the only legion stationed in the proconsular senatorial province ended up in the praetorian imperial province, which was the real reason for the changes.

In the careers of former *laticlavii* tribunes, we find 20 proconsulships[63] and 36 imperial governorships[64]. Since (as I have already mentioned) proconsulships were subject to annual rotation, there should be more provincial legateships in the table, and yet there are fewer. This anomaly can be explained by the fact that emperors more willingly chose as their legates those senators who had some kind of experience – for instance, military experience gained in the army.

Consulships were awarded to 35 out of the 47 governors (approx. 74%). After completing the office, the majority – 22 (approx. 63%) – continued their careers in the administration. In the case of four senators, this resulted in a second consulship – an ordinary one[65]. Due to the lack of sources, it is impossible to determine what the fate of the remaining 13 consulars was. If they gave up applying for further offices, it should be assumed that for them the consulship was the culmination of a traditional career of republican origin and the most important element needed to maintain the position of their *gens*.

Looking at the military tribunes' post-consular careers, we find 24 attested imperial governorships[66] and 13 proconsulships[67] (Asia, Africa, Macedonia[68]).

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[62] See Thomasson 1996: coll. 403–404, and notes of such senators as Q. Cornelius Valens CV[...] Honestianus Iunianus, Sex. Varius Marcellus, Anonymus (*CIL* VIII 2754 = 18129), L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus, P. Iunius Iunianus Martialianus.

[63] Nos. 1, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 21, 22, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 44.

[64] Nos. 6, 7, 11 (three times), 12, 13, 14, 15, 20 (twice), 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28 (twice), 30, 31, 33 (twice), 34, 35, 37, 38, 39 (twice), 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47.

[65] Nos. 7, 12, 23, 30.

[66] Governorships were held by nos. 2 (twice), 4, 6, 9, 10 (three times), 12 (three times), 18, 19 (twice), 21, 23 (twice), 24 (twice), 27, 29, 30 (twice), 31.

[67] Proconsulships were held by nos. 6, 16, 17, 18, 23 (three times), 24, ?31, 32, 35, 40.

[68] The *cursus honorum* of P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus features the proconsulship of Macedonia (of the praetorian rank as a standard) after he had held the consulship. It is possible that we

In the group of 20 governors of consular provinces[69], six governed provinces without legionary troops, and 14 governed provinces in which such troops were stationed (of whom ten had previously commanded legions[70]). This was due to there being a much larger number of provinces with legions (12) compared to those without a legionary garrison (five)[71]. This arrangement is in contrast to the structure of the praetorian provinces, where provinces without legions dominated. In general, it can be said that the defence of the imperial borders (in administrative terms) rested on the shoulders of consulars.

By analysing the careers of *laticlavii* presented earlier, one can prepare a commented list of the regularities of the praetorian and post-consular stages. Rules were more strictly followed at the praetorian stage – this was conditioned by the younger age of governors and the fact that they had less experience. The post-consular stage was less strict due to the fact that at this stage of their careers governors were older, more experienced and more reliable.

Pretorian stage: regularities

1. Governorships were held by senators who did not originate from the provinces assigned to them. In this way, closer ties between the governor and the inhabitants of his province were avoided (*gens*, *familia*, *clientelae*, etc.).
2. Senators did not return as governors to a province where they had previously served as military tribunes. Otherwise, they could meet their former comrades-in-arms and inhabitants of the province that they had befriended. As young officers, they could be remembered for various mistakes as well as for inappropriate acquaintances. Such a situation could significantly affect the process of efficient governance of the province.
3. Curatorships appeared in the senatorial *cursus* at various stages. Sometimes they gave the impression of a "waiting room", or sometimes leave for meritorious legates. In both cases, they served to retain senators who were capable and willing to serve in the administration. The collected data indicate that curatorships often preceded legionary or provincial legateships.
4. The number of imperial governorships held by former *tribuni laticlavii* was higher than that of senatorial proconsulships. This was due to the personnel policy of the emperors who selected governors with military experience. When appointing proconsuls, the Senate was guided by other principles, paying particular attention to the candidates' social origin and family relationships.

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are dealing here with an exceptional situation, similar to the case of C. Iulius Avitus Alexianus, the proconsul of Cyprus (Table no. 2 and note 95 below).

[69] This number results from notes 63 and 64 above, in which the governors of the imperial provinces and the proconsuls were enumerated (the repetitions being eliminated).

[70] Nos. 4, 6, 12, 19, 21, 23, 24, 27, 30, 31.

[71] Provinces of both types were governed by senators nos. 2, 6, 12, 23, 24, 31.

5. If the *cursus* of a senator featured provinces "without a legion" and "with a legion", the one "without a legion" usually appeared at the earlier stage. The *cursus* after the praetorship did not start with the governorship of a province with a legion. Such a governorship was often preceded (not necessarily directly) by legionary or other military command (*dux*, *praepositus*)[72]. These rules are fully understandable and no additional explanation is required.
6. The governorship of a province with a legionary garrison was usually crowned with a consulship.
7. Most provincial governors could count on being awarded a suffect consulship; in exceptional cases (patricians, friends and family of the emperor), it could be an ordinary consulship.

Post-consular stage: regularities

1. The governors of consular provinces did not, as a rule, govern the province from which they originated. The basis of this principle (similarly to the praetorian stage) was to cut them off from contacts with their family, friends and clients.
   Two senators from Africa, trusted by the ruling family, were exceptions to this rule: L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus and L. Marius Perpetuus (they were brothers). The former was certainly the proconsul of Africa, while the latter probably held this office[73]. In their case, it should be assumed that the grandeur bestowed by the proconsulship was to reward them for their faithful service, and the imperial trust meant that they might be rewarded with the governance of their home province. Aurelianus attained the proconsulship of Africa after holding two proconsulships of Asia and the City prefecture. Due to the earlier separation of the province of Numidia from Africa proconsularis, they did not have authority over the Legio III Augusta.
2. Governors were allowed to return to the post-consular province where they had previously served as tribunes. This was in contradiction to the principle valid during the praetorian stage when such a "return" was out of the question. The change of principle resulted from the longer time gap between the tribunate and the post-consular governorship as well as from the higher status of the governor. Three senators from the Severan period returned as consular governors to province where they had held a military tribunate: Q. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus (a tribune in Hispania Tarraconensis, and the

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[72] Cases of provinces with legionary troops whose legates had no experience at the officer's level were definitely in the minority. See P. Catius Sabinus (no. 7), Q. Flavius Balbus (no. 13), P. Plotius Romanus Cassianus Neo (no. 28), Anonymus (no. 33).

[73] I adopt the idea by Alföldy (1987: 195–202), who supplemented the inscription of [L. Marius] Perp[etuus] from Rome (*CIL* VI 41187/41188) with the word *proco(n)[s(ul)]*. In this situation, Perpetuus would have been the proconsul of Africa approx. 15 years after the consulship.

governor of Hispania citerior, part of the former Hispania Tarraconensis), C. Iulius Septimius Castinus (Tres Daciae), Tib. Pontius Pontianus (Pannonia inferior)[74].

3. In the post-consular *cursus* of senators there were central curatorships: *curator alvei et riparum et cloacarum Urbis* and *curator aedium sacrarum et operum publicorum*, as well as local ones: of their home towns or their clientele.
4. Attempts were made to entrust provinces with legionary troops to senators with military experience (those who had previously held the post of *legatus legionis*, *praepositus* or *dux*). Under the Severans, only two senators failed to meet this requirement[75].
5. The *cursus honorum* of former *tribuni laticlavii* featured the title of *comes Augusti*, suggesting that their holders belonged to the *consilium principis*.
6. The proconsulships of Asia and Africa were assumed 15–25 years after the consulship. As a rule, this was the office that terminated senatorial careers; often it was the only post-consular one.
7. Exceptionally, it was possible to hold the proconsulship of the same province for more than a year (see L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus).
8. Meritorious consulars could count on a second consulship – an ordinary one (provided that the first was a suffect one) and the City prefecture.

B. *Angusticlavii*

In the group of nine *angusticlavii*, three governed only praetorian provinces[76], two governed only consular ones[77], and four governed provinces of both types[78]. It can be seen that praetorian governors slightly outnumbered consular governors (7: 6). Out of the entire group (9), only four *angusticlavii* did not command legions before assuming governorship of a province[79] (but three of them previously had *tres militiae*[80]).

In the praetorian careers of former *angusticlavii* tribunes, we find seven imperial governorships[81], while proconsulships are missing, which is evidently due to the very weak support for promoted equestrians in conservative senatorial circles.

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[74] All three had very good relations with the rulers: Gentianus with Severus, Castinus with Severus and Caracalla, and Pontianus with Caracalla and Heliogabal.

[75] Nos. 2 and 9. The unclear cases are nos. 10 and 29, and this is due to the lack of complete data on their praetorian careers.

[76] Nos. 3, 6, 9.

[77] Nos. 1, 4.

[78] Nos. 2, 5, 7, 8.

[79] Nos. 1, 6, 8, 9.

[80] Nos. 1, 8, 9.

[81] Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

In the group of seven governors of praetorian provinces, two governed provinces without legions[82], and five governed provinces with garrisons[83]. There were few praetorian provinces with legionary troops (seven out of 21, and after AD 214, six out of 21), and the majority of governors were former *angusticlavii*. As a rule, such legateships usually led directly to a consulship[84].

Looking at the provinces with legionary troops, it can be stated that these were, in individual cases, Pannonia inferior and superior[85], Pannonia inferior[86], Raetia[87], Numidia[88], and Moesia superior[89].

In the group of governors under consideration here, eight out of nine (approx. 89%) were awarded a suffect consulship while none received an ordinary consulship (but their sons could already count on this post). In six cases (75%) the continuation of their post-consular career is attested[90]. In the previously analysed group of *laticlavii*, only about 63% of senators continued their careers after the consulship. *Angusticlavii* attached greater significance to their careers as a means of strengthening prestige (and the position of one's *gens*), in contrast to *laticlavii*, who inherited the prestige of their family.

In the *cursus honorum* of the six governors of consular provinces[91], we find eight imperial governorships[92] (five with legions[93]) and three proconsulships[94] (Asia, Africa and Cyprus[95]). The appearance of proconsulships in the cursus of *angusti-*

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[82] Nos. 6, 9.

[83] Such provinces were governed by nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8.

[84] Nos. 2, 3, 5, ?7, 8.

[85] No. 2.

[86] No. 7.

[87] No. 5.

[88] No. 3.

[89] No. 8 – M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex was its governor before the consulship. According to the study by A.R. Birley (1963: 109–112), this province temporarily held the praetorian rank, around 167–176.

[90] Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8.

[91] Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8.

[92] Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7 (three times), 8.

[93] Nos. 2, 4, 7 (twice), 8.

[94] Nos. 5 (twice), 7.

[95] This was a senatorial praetorian province, to which Emperor Caracalla, in 217, delegated C. Iulius Avitus Alexianus, a consular, former proconsul of Asia, brother-in-law of Empress Iulia Domna. As mentioned by Cassius Dio (LXXVIII 30, 2 and 4), Avitus was sent there as a counsellor to the appointed governor. Due to the lack of data it is impossible to determine what title was held by Avitus (*proconsul*? *consiliarius*?) and what the scope of his responsibilities was. His successor P. or Ti. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus, sent by the next emperor Macrinus, was also a consular and held the title of proconsul (*AE* 1940, 104 = *AE* 1950, 9). This shows that Cyprus temporarily had consular status.

clavii was something new. Those elected to this office managed to secure the emperor's trust and achieve a suitable position in the Senate during their careers.

Due to the modest source material concerning *angusticlavii*, a few regularities can be determined at the praetorian and consular stages and an attempt can be made to compare the differences in the careers of *angusticlavii* and *laticlavii*.

Pretorian stage: regularities

1. *Angusticlavii* could govern the provinces (even with legionary troops) from which they originated or hold other offices there[96], which was not possible in the case of *laticlavii*. Probably the consent to such appointments was due to their lower initial (equestrian) status; they posed no threat to the emperor and the Empire.
2. Curatorships appeared in the *cursus* of former *tribuni angusticlavii* in the first place after the praetorship. In the case of *laticlavii* the situation was different; curatorships appeared at different levels of the praetorian stage.
3. In contrast to *laticlavii*, there are no proconsulships in the praetorian *cursus* of former *tribuni angusticlavii*; this is due to their weak position in the Senate.
4. Legionary legateships appeared in the senatorial *cursus* before governorships of provinces with legionary troops (as in the case of *laticlavii*).
5. The majority of former *tribuni angusticlavii* governed provinces with legions; in the case of *laticlavii*, on the other hand, only a minority received such provinces.
6. The governorship of a province with a legionary garrison was usually crowned with a consulship (as in the case of *laticlavii*).
7. *Angusticlavii* could count on a suffect consulship, just as the majority of *laticlavii* could.

Post-consular stage: regularities

After the consulship, there is a general similarity between the career paths of *angusticlavii* and those of *laticlavii*.

1. The proconsulships of Asia and Africa appeared in the *cursus* of *angusticlavii*, which proves the emperor's support for *homines novi* and their growing position in the Senate[97].
2. As in the case of *laticlavii*, post-consular curatorships appeared at various levels; they were either central or local.

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[96] Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus (no. 3) was the governor of Numidia, a province from which he originated. Another senator, M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex (no. 8), was a military tribune in Britain. According to one option, he was born in that province (more specifically, in Camulodunum). The other option indicates his other possible origin was from Colonia Ara Agrippinensis (Germania). Both governors previously had long equestrian careers and were experienced and loyal officials.

[97] From among senators continuing their careers after the consulship: in the group of *angusticlavii*, two individuals out of six (approx. 33%), in the group of *laticlavii*, 12 individuals out of 22 (approx. 54%).

3. There are no ordinary consulships and prefectures of the City (found in the *cursus* of *laticlavii*).
4. In the *cursus* of *angusticlavii*, we find such titles as *comes Augusti* and *dux*, which suggests that their holders belonged to the *consilium principis*, just as in the case of *laticlavii*.

SUMMARY (THE *CURSUS HONORUM* OF MILITARY TRIBUNES)

The above analyses make it possible to assume that the office of a provincial governor (praetorian and consular) was both an important step in the senatorial *cursus honorum* and a significant element of imperial personnel policy. Holding this office gave the senator in question prestige, experience, and skills; and his *gens* and *familia* as a whole benefited from it indirectly. For the emperor, governorships were key offices in maintaining the security of the state. Therefore, his appointments were careful, taking into account the candidate's level of qualifications, including his military preparation. At various stages of their career, the emperor promoted talented and loyal senators (e.g. by granting them the status of *candidatus Augusti* or *adlectio*), thus shaping the administrative staff of the Empire.

To join the group of governors, one had to have many obligatory and non-obligatory offices in one's *cursus*, and one's military competence was primarily provided by the military tribunate and the legionary command. These offices were especially valuable when appointments to provinces with legionary garrisons were made.

The military tribunate itself was not a decisive factor for one's future career, but in combination with the appropriate functions of the praetorian rank (approx. 55% of the tribunes became legionary legates and approx. 45% became provincial governors), it could lead to a consulship and give prospects for a fruitful post-consular career. It is worth noting that former military tribunes attained consulships and proconsulships of Asia and Africa three times more often than other senators.

Finally, we can present two career models of military tribunes (*laticlavii* and *angusticlavii*) in a simplified version:

1. *Cursus honorum tribuni laticlavii*: *vigintivir*, *tribunus laticlavius*, *quaestor*, *tribunus plebis*/*aedilis* (*plebis* or *curialis*), *praetor* (with the option of *candidatus Augusti* or *adlectio* in the case of magistratures), *curator*/*legatus legionis*/*proconsul provinciae*/*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae*, *consul suffectus* (or *ordinarius*), *curator*/*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae*/*proconsul provinciae*, *consul iterum – ordinarius* (after the first *consulatus suffectus*), *praefectus Urbi*.
2. *Cursus honorum tribuni angusticlavii*: equestrian stage – *tres*/*quattuor militiae* (including *tribunus angusticlavius*), *procurator*, *latus clavus* or

adlectio in clarissimum ordinem; senatorial stage – *quaestor*, *tribunus plebis*/*aedilis plebis*, *praetor* (with the option of *adlectio* in the case of magistratures), *curator*/*legatus legionis*/*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae*, *consul suffectus*, *curator*/*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae*/*proconsul provinciae.*

This comparison makes it possible to capture the similarities and differences between both models. Before the quaestorship the careers of *laticlavii* were generally shorter than those of *angusticlavii*, and the offices they held differed in social and administrative rank. Although it was not compulsory to hold an office at this stage, it provided knowledge and experience that had an impact on the future of a given individual. *Angusticlavii*, after being adlected into the Senate, entered the path of a senatorial career and held (just like *laticlavii*) magistratures (*quaestor*, *tribunus plebis*/*aedilis plebis*, *praetor*). This stage was common to both models and the order and rank of the offices were the same. The only difference was the office of *aedilis curialis*, reserved for patricians, although they did not have to hold this office, bypassing this step on their career ladder.

After the praetorship, and on the way to the consulship, *laticlavii* held fewer offices (two to four) than *angusticlavii* (five and more). Due to their lower social background and weak support in senatorial circles, the *cursus* of *angusticlavii* featured mainly imperial offices, while in the case of *laticlavii* there were both imperial and senatorial posts.

After the consulship, the career models of both groups became, to a certain extent, similar: the same provincial governorships and proconsulships, and a similar number of offices. However, an ordinary consulship and the prefecture of the City were only within the scope of the *laticlavii*, although it must objectively be admitted that it was an option available to few senators. It is only the descendants of the promoted *angusticlavii* that could count on opportunities equal to those of the members of the old *gentes senatoriae.*

To sum up, it can be concluded that senatorial careers were kept in a fairly rigid framework in which their social origin and the emperor's support for individual senators played a key role. In this way, one's career was limited by tradition and customary norms in use in Roman political life.

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REVIVING THE *BATRACHOMYOMACHIA* IN THE RENAISSANCE: TRACING THREE MODES OF POEM RECEPTION IN LATIN LITERATURE

by

JAKUB ZBĄDZKI

ABSTRACT: This article explores the transmission of the *Batrachomyomachia* (*BM*) in the Renaissance Latin literature. The *BM* was attributed to Homer and spread through Latin translations by prominent figures such as Carlo Marsuppini and Johannes Reuchlin, as well as lesser-known poets. Translators often copied and corrected existing translations rather than translating directly from Greek. The journey of the poem was complicated, with the disappearance of the authorship of translations over time and the lack of knowledge of other existing versions. The *BM* endured in Latin literature and inspired a diverse range of reworkings, making it a testament to the lasting influence of Greek epics on European literature.

1. INTRODUCTION

The *Batrachomyomachia* (*BM*) is recognised as a classic example of mock epic poetry, combining epic form with playfully light content. Recently, scholars have portrayed it as a Hellenistic work, creating humour through intertextuality. This view is presented in works by Matthew Hosty, Joel Christensen and Erik Robinson, and various authors of recent papers[1]. The *BM* has experienced a resurgence in research, but its popularity can be traced back much earlier, particularly because of its translation into Latin that spread throughout Europe during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. The only comprehensive analysis of this topic has been provided by Aäron Vanspauwen[2], along with historical works documenting subsequent editions[3] and abandoned projects[4]. Isolated studies have

[1] See Hosty 2020; Christensen, Robinson 2018; also Kelly 2009 and 2014; Hosty 2014; Sticker 2017; Bauer 2020.

[2] Vanspauwen 2017.

[3] Maittaire 1721.

[4] Siniša Jovčić and Petra Matović (Šoštarić) embarked on a digitisation project and completed the transcriptions of the translations by Carlo Marsuppini, Joachim Münsinger and Francisco Xavier Alegre, but unfortunately, the initiative was not continued. See Jovčić, Šoštarić 2018.

focused mainly on the earliest editions[5], so lesser-known translations that were published later have not yet been thoroughly examined. To fully understand the popularity and evolution of the *BM*, a further study of the Latin route of its transmission to Europe is necessary. This is crucial because translators often deviated from the original Greek text, influenced by their own objectives, poetic models, and varying historical and literary contexts. Understanding their motivations, goals, and techniques will provide information on the transformation of the text and its journey to become a cornerstone of Renaissance literature. In this article, the three most important modes of reception of the poem in the Renaissance will be presented: through the translation by Marsuppini (and the one based on it by Reuchlin), prose translation, and independent translations by less celebrated authors.

2. CARLO MARSUPPINI'S TRANSLATION: FROM POPULARITY TO OBLIVION

The first Latin translation of the *BM* by Carlo Marsuppini, a renowned Florentine poet and academic, is well known. The exact publication date is inferred from a letter by Giovanni Marrasio to Antonio Becadelli (il Panormita), penned between 1429 and 1430, in which Marrasio discusses Marsuppini's ongoing translation work. Ilaria Pierini postulates that the text may not have been completed until 1431, as Marsuppini fled to Rimini in 1430 due to a plague. He was already preparing a translation of Isocrates' *To Nicocles*, so he might not have had ample opportunities to progress with *BM*. As such, his version would probably not have been completed until at least 1431[6]. However, Marrasio's letter reveals that he had viewed 300 lines of the translation[7], implying that it was nearing completion. Pierini further contends that Marsuppini could have fought with Gaspare Sighicelli in 1431 by composing epigrams titled *In Phisicarpaga Murem*, which she theorises could have been a preface to the translation's publication[8]. However, the epigrams (or rather epitaphs, paraphrasing the speech of the *BM*'s main hero father), seem less intelligible and impressive outside the context of the entire poem. For humanists to compete and for the public to assess their work, the poem would have to have been partially disseminated. Consequently, 1429–1430 remains the most probable time frame for the composition of the first Latin *BM* text.

Marsuppini initially aimed to create a prose rendition of the *BM*, but soon abandoned this due to perceived lack of aesthetic appeal and dissimilarity to

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[5] See Knauer 1996; Teixidó 2004; Zaggia 2013; Bucchi 2015.

[6] Pierini 2014: 6–8.

[7] Sabbadini 1890: 180.

[8] See Pierini 2012–2013: 281–299.

Homer's style[9]. Some scholars suggest that this decision was a reaction to Leonardo Bruni's prose translation of lines 222–265 of the *Iliad*'s ninth book[10], given Marsuppini's verse translation of its first book, and their differing stances on art expressed in various writings[11]. The poet sought to embody the spirit of Homer's epic, as he considered both texts to differ in grandeur, but not in quality or meaning, and achieved great success. His version earned praise for its robust literary technique and accessibility. First, it circulated among his close friends at their request, as mentioned in a letter to Marrasio[12]. This appears credible, despite this justification being a common theme of prefaces to literary works. Immediately, numerous copies were created, and studies indicated at least sixty-six of them[13]. Nine editions of the poem have been published after Marsuppini's death in 1453, with the locations and dates as follows: Brescia[14] 1474/1475, Venice 1475[15], Parma 1492, Modena 1498, Pesaro 1509, Venice 1510, Florence 1512, Venice 1512, Pesaro 1518. The Brescia edition, probably the first printed Greek literary work in Europe[16], incorporated the text of the *BM* along with an anonymous Latin interlinear translation and a poetic version by an unidentified author – Marsuppini's name is absent from the edition. It is plausible that the printer, Tommasso Ferrando, lacked details on the authorship; this hypothesis is reinforced by a marginal note in the verse translation reading "hic tres reliquit Homeri versus interpraes" ("the Homeric translator left three verses here"). Had the editor been aware of Marsuppini, a more specific term would probably have been used[17].

Later editions of the *BM* differed from the inaugural one. Starting with the Venetian edition of ca. 1475, these versions included an introductory letter to

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[9] Marsuppini 1475 [?]: 1.

[10] Fabbri 1991: 561–562.

[11] Bruni believed that the best art stemmed from the *furor divinus*, while Marsuppini prioritised literary craftsmanship. See Pierini 2014: 11.

[12] The identity of the friends referred to in Marsuppini's letter remains a topic of debate until now. According to Pierini (2014: 7), they were students of the Studio Fiorentino university, where Marsuppini may have taught as early as 1430, although there is little evidence to provide a precise dating.

[13] Knauer 1996: 24. A comprehensive catalogue of the manuscripts remains unpublished until now. It was likely that Knauer intended to include it in the "Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum", but the project was halted due to his death. The most complete catalogue of prints is included in Young 2003.

[14] While the printer of this edition is not explicitly stated, it is possible to discern his identity. Robert Proctor conducted a thorough analysis of the text, examining factors such as the size of the typeface and the common form of the letter "l" in the *Statuta Brixiae*, which led him to conclude that the *BM* was printed by Tommasso Ferrando of Brescia. See Proctor 1900: 83.

[15] It was probably published by Agostino Dato ca. 1475. See Zaggia 2013: 35.

[16] *Ibidem*, p. 83.

[17] Knauer 1996: 26.

Giovanni Marrasio, affirming Marsuppini's authorship. They also showcased a frogs-vs-mice fight illustration, a distich by Martial about the *BM*, and two epigrams by Antipater of Sidon about Homer and his homeland, as seen in the Parma and Modena editions. However, none incorporated an additional Greek or prose text. The question arises: why was Marsuppini's translation presented as a separate entity from the original? Georg Knauer suggests that this signifies its special value[18], but alternative explanations exist. Humanists of the era often struggled to grasp the Greek text fully, turning to prose translations when they were lacking fluency. As Knauer points out, this is evidenced by the fact that, except for one edition of Homer published in Venice in 1516, all of them contained a prose version, not Marsuppini's[19]. Furthermore, his version, marked by a certain laxity that made it intriguing, but also led to deviations from the original (as Carla Senatore's analysis highlights[20]), was not designed for scholars and therefore did not require printing alongside its source.

The letter to Marrasio addresses the key issues that will shape the perception of the poem for years to come. During the Renaissance, debates regarding Homer and the *BM* were prevalent, and Marsuppini was acutely aware of them[21]. Although he did not resolve these disputes, he sought to illuminate the attribution of the poem. He contested that those who, like Pseudo-Plutarch, doubted Homer's authorship due to perceived unworthiness compared to his epics, were misinformed, drawing an analogy based on a mistaken presumption: he postulated that, just as Vergil purportedly composed humorous youthful poems such as the *Culex* or the *Copa* (which are actually pseudo-Vergilian), to perfect his style, so Homer could have created epyllia preceding his epic poetry[22]. For him, *BM* really seemed to be Homer's work, with stylistic variances explained by the poet's evolution from novice to experienced professional. We can assume that this supposition established a narrative thread linking Homer's and Marsuppini's own work: by translating the *BM* and later the *Iliad*, he was following in his footsteps and becoming an authority in his own right.

The letter also raises a significant question about the value of the *BM.* Marsuppini cites *Georgics* IV 6, "in tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria" ("the object of the labour was small, but the fame was not"), emphasising the importance of even minor efforts and works. In addition, he posits that even light-hearted pieces can achieve success and necessitate genuine artistic flair, whereas mastering *stylus gravis* is

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[18] *Ibidem*, p. 24.

[19] *Ibidem*.

[20] See Senatore 2021: 606–607.

[21] Marsuppini 1475 [?]: 2–3.

[22] *Ibidem*, p. 2.

within the reach of average orators[23]. Consequently, the *BM* acquires unexpected value. The choice to share the poem with Marrasio for his relaxation and enjoyment[24], in turn, implies that the poem serves a *delectare* function and is appropriate for reading, revising, or translating as a part of *otium negotiosum*.

It is also worth mentioning a poem *Hecatombe* authored by Marrasio in gratitude for a dedication from Marsuppini, which bolsters the notion that the journey to poetic excellence begins with minor pieces and culminates in grand epics. Marrasio even considers this to be a principle of poetic development[25]. He also motivates Marsuppini to progress along this path after crafting the *BM*, prodding him to render the *Iliad* into Latin[26]. Both texts convey a unified picture of the poem as a model of *progymnasmata*, which is required to achieve excellence.

Marsuppini's translation was a notable work due to its elegant form and preservation of some original characteristics, such as the straightforward style and easy-to-read hexameter. This made the translation accessible and potentially beneficial in an educational context, as highlighted by Zaggia[27]. Consequently, the translation gained wide popularity and was frequently replicated independently, inadvertently causing some detriment to the author. Since the rhymed translation was unsigned, it circulated anonymously and became a popular template for publishers to use under various names[28], leading to numerous editions that owed a significant part of their success to Marsuppini.

3. REUCHLIN: A RENEWAL, A REVISION, A ROBBERY?

The publication of verse translations bearing Reuchlin's name coincided with later editions of Marsuppini's work. According to Knauer, six printings and three manuscripts of Reuchlin's translations were made. The earliest editions were printed in Vienna: one by Johann Wirtenburger around 1509/1510 and the other by Joachim Vadian in 1510. Further editions were published in Münster in 1514 by Dietrich Tzwyvel, Vienna in 1516 by Jerome Wietor, and Kraków in 1522, again by Jerome Wietor. A copy of an edition from an unspecified location, dating back to around 1520, is now held in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. While Knauer considered the 1510 edition by Vadian to be the first, there might be some doubts about the dating, and Wirtenburger cannot be ruled out as the first publisher.

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[23] *Ibidem*, p. 1.

[24] *Ibidem*, p. 3.

[25] Chatfield 2016: 62, vv. 77–78.

[26] *Ibidem*, p. 64, vv. 89–90.

[27] Zaggia 2013: 36.

[28] Knauer 1996: 25.

As anyone who has encountered it can attest, Reuchlin's text is merely a slight modification of Marsuppini's verse translation. The reason for the repeated misattribution of authorship remains a subject of debate. Knauer used two clues to solve the puzzle: the fact that Reuchlin prepared in 1495 a prose translation, and the epigram contained in this manuscript and subsequent editions, in which he lamented that a prose translation could never reflect the charm of Homer's song. He believed that translations were generally inferior to the original text, as evidenced by his earlier writings[29]. Knauer speculates that Vadian, convinced by his lament, decided to print a verse translation[30]. The publisher might have misunderstood him and took literally the theme of modesty.

Although the explanation for the misattribution of the translations seems plausible, it still prompts questions about why a text similar to Marsuppini's was repeatedly published under someone else's name. Vadian (or Wirtenburger) might have attributed the poem to Reuchlin for commercial reasons, but if so, one would expect some surviving commentary from Reuchlin. To shed light on the attribution, one must consider the seemingly controversial thesis that Reuchlin might have viewed himself as the translator of the *BM*, despite using a pre-existing model. Vadian explicitly attributed the translation to him in the introduction to the 1510 edition, even implying that Italy might envy such a distinguished poet[31]. While it would be presumptuous to conclude that the printer intended to assert superiority over Marsuppini, it is clear that there was no inadvertent misattribution. This assumption allows for a simpler interpretation of the epigram, eliminating the possibility of irony or topicality. Reuchlin believed that a prose translation could not capture the beauty of Greek poetry. This is why his prose version remained in manuscript form even though he lived for another twenty-seven years after its completion and could have published it, and why he decided to create his own verse translation.

Reuchlin's editions significantly expand our knowledge of how the poem was received, with each subsequent edition containing various elements. The 1510 edition includes a letter of dedication by Vadian to Johannes Rhetus and three epigrams, authored by Arbogast Strub Glaronesius, Johannes Abhauser Vindelicus, and Vadian himself. The introduction focuses primarily on the question of the authorship of the poem, Vadian citing two rival views. The first, supported by Statius and Martial, attributes the work to Homer, while the opposing one, supported by Curio Lancellotto Pasi, Pseudo-Plutarch, and (supposedly) Guarino of Verona, denies, more or less directly, Homer's authorship. Glaronesius' epigram notes the surprising nature of the poem, which addresses war and violence, but

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[29] Posset 2015: 85, 115.

[30] *Ibidem*, p. 25.

[31] Reuchlin 1510: 3.

is simultaneously accompanied by laughter and peace[32]. Vindelicus' text contains heroicomic elements, as it depicts a conflagration waged by mice and frogs[33], while Vadian's work portrays the conflict with the *BM* as more significant than some well-known historical battles. The 1516 edition features a letter and two poems that concentrate on the contrast between the form and content of the *BM*. In a message addressed to his patron Michael, the provost of Kalocsa and canon of Alba Regalis (present-day Székesfehérvár), Bartholomeus Frankfurter Pannonus contemplates whether to bestow a monumental work or a cheerful literary trifle upon his patron[34]. He ultimately selects the *BM*, which fulfils both desires as a light piece written in a high style[35]. Pannonus' epigram presents the poem in contrast to the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, following Martial, as a piece that is read cheerfully, yet still bears a resemblance to the former epic[36]. Pannonus also labels the poem as an eclogue, presumably considering only the presence of animal characters[37].

Despite the complex origins of the translation attributed to Reuchlin, it is accurate to say that both the text and its context are an extension of the Marsuppini version. Subsequent editions continued to perpetuate the perception of the *BM* as a work of uncertain authorship, serving as an example of *progymnasmata* that encouraged activities such as translation creation, minor epic or comic works, and parodies. The poem garnered high regard and widespread dissemination for its aesthetic qualities and humour. For many years, the only alternatives to Marsuppini's poetic version or Reuchlin's translation were prose texts, which had thoroughly different objectives but were equally significant in the history of *BM*.

4. PROSE TRANSLATION SERIES: A PUBLISHING AND TEACHING ALTERNATIVE

The first prose translation featured in the Brescia edition, which was initially circulating alongside Marsuppini's text and later in parallel, has an author who remains anonymous until now. While it might be natural to suspect Marsuppini as its creator, this edition does not provide any evidence to support this hypothesis. One could argue that since no translation, including the verse one, is signed, and later editions attributed the verse version to Marsuppini, he might also have authored the prose translation. Furthermore, since the two texts were originally

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[32] *Ibidem*, p. 3, vv. 11–12.

[33] *Ibidem*, p. 4, vv. 5–6.

[34] Reuchlin 1516: 13.

[35] *Ibidem*.

[36] *Ibidem*, p. 14, vv. 1–8.

[37] *Ibidem*, p. 13.

juxtaposed, it is plausible to speculate that Marsuppini contributed to the prose version. However, as we recall, he abandoned the prose translation after a few lines, stating that such a version did not capture the charm of the original. This assertion cannot be overlooked as mere rhetorical modesty, as was the case with Reuchlin. Although Marsuppini might have revised his stance later, it seems more likely that the prose version appeared after his death, which would account for its lack of a signature and its omission in subsequent editions.

The prose version of the *BM* was included in many subsequent publications; its systematic (although incomplete) descriptions were credited mostly to Massimo Zaggia[38] and Georg Knauer[39]. After the first modification, ascribed to Johannes Reuchlin, Beatus Rhenanus generated three versions of the text, the initial one being handwritten by him on a copy of François Tissard's Greek edition, which emerged in 1507. Another version is included in a manuscript currently housed at the Bibliothèque Humaniste de Sélestat[40], numbered 004. Marie-Laure Freyburger-Galand proposes that this may have served as an annotated copy for teaching purposes or as a preliminary version for a printed text[41]. The final translation was prepared directly by Rhenanus for the 1518 edition of *Homeri Batrachomyomachia, hoc est, ranarum & murium pugna. Graece & Latine*, which was published by Johannes Frobenius and included the Greek and prose text. All three translations are almost identical, differing only in minor details. The last one became popular and served as the basis for subsequent reprints. It often appeared in collections – Frobenius played a significant role in disseminating the prose version through his corpus of *Aesopi Phrygis vita et fabellae [...]*, which contained an identical version of the *BM* that appeared concurrently with the 1518 edition. Subsequent editions were published in 1524, 1530, and 1534.

Another key channel for spreading the prose version was through editions attributed to Aldo Manuzio. These versions closely mirrored the Rhenanus text. The first printing including Latin BM translation and bearing Manuzio's name was a collection published by Jan de Schrijver in Antwerp in 1528, titled *Homeri poetarum principis cum Iliados, tum Odysseae libri XLVIII [...] item Batrachomyomachia, id est Ranarum et Murium pugna, Aldo Ma. Ro. interprete [...]*. According to Zaggia, it is impossible to confirm whether Manuzio compiled this version himself, since he had passed away in 1515. However, his authorship was relatively reliable considering his reputation as a respected editor of Greek literature[42]. Therefore, de Schrijver could have invoked Manuzio's name to

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[38] Zaggia 2013: 46–49.

[39] Knauer 1996: 26–36.

[40] See Freyburger-Galland 2016: 11–21.

[41] *Ibidem*, p. 20.

[42] Zaggia 2013: 47.

enhance the prestige of the edition. This translation was published in 1533, 1534, and 1541, and was also released in a set with Andrea Divo's Latin translation of the *Odyssey* in 1538, 1540, and 1565, becoming, according to Zaggia, a widely reused vulgate[43].

Further minor modifications to the prose translation were made after the Pseudo-Manuzio version. In 1561, the Basel-published collection *Homeri opera Graecolatina*, translated by Sébastien Châteillon, presented nearly identical content to previous editions. Châteillon aimed to compile accurate versions of Homer's epics and it is likely that he had the same intention for the *BM*, although he did not comment specifically on it[44]. Soon after, Leonhart Lycius released a translation with commentary from Philip Melanchthon and Henri Estienne. The *Batrachomyomachia, Homeri poema perquam festivum et elegans de ranarum cum muribus pugna [...]* was published in Leipzig in 1566 and republished in 1570 and 1621. It also appeared as the *Batrachomyomachia Homeri: carmen specie ridiculum re sapientissimum* in Frankfurt in 1604. Later, Samuel Clarke published *Homeri Odyssea Graece et Latine, item Batrachomyomachia, Hymni et epigrammata. Homero vulgo ascripta* in London in 1740, once again featuring similar content. Johann August Ernesti in 1761 and Johann Adam Schier in 1765 offered further editions and corrections in Leipzig, based on Lycius' translation. Additional prose versions were released, though they were less significant. The stability of the prose version was not as certain as Marsuppini's translation, and later revisions exhibited some differences. To understand these variations, it is necessary to determine whether later editions utilised earlier ones, or if they represented independent attempts to produce a prose translation solely based on the Greek text.

To resolve these matters, stylometry[45] and n-gram analysis[46] could be used. Stylometry investigates how word pairs recur in various writings. The stylistic difference between texts is gauged by how often a word pair is observed in multiple sources, and this is assessed across the entire body of work. A noteworthy example is Maciej Eder's extensive dive into Latin literature, spanning epochs from ancient times to the early modern age[47]. N-gram analysis examines

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[43] *Ibidem*, p. 31.

[44] Chateillon 1561.

[45] In this paper, there was used a corpus of transcriptions available on the pages https://github.com/ZbadzkiJakub/Latin-prose-translations-of-Batrachomyomachia and http://latinbatrachomyomachia.com/. I included only the first printed versions of each text, which means, for example, that I based my research on Frobenius' 1518 version. Differences involving single words in this case do not affect the results, and my primary goal is to demonstrate indirect translation.

[46] I would like to express my gratitude to the invaluable Zdzisław Koczarski for providing access to his n-gram testing program, Omnicomparator v. 1.4. His contribution has been indispensable to this study.

[47] Eder 2016.

sequential chains of n words within texts or larger bodies of work. It strictly identifies exact word chains. Overlaps in word sequences between texts, especially short ones or widely recognised phrases, do not always point to intentional borrowing, but longer sequences increase the probability of reference. Both stylometry and n-gram evaluations offer a treasure trove of insights into literary origins and interconnections, solidifying their value in the literary research arena, and are used more and more often[48].

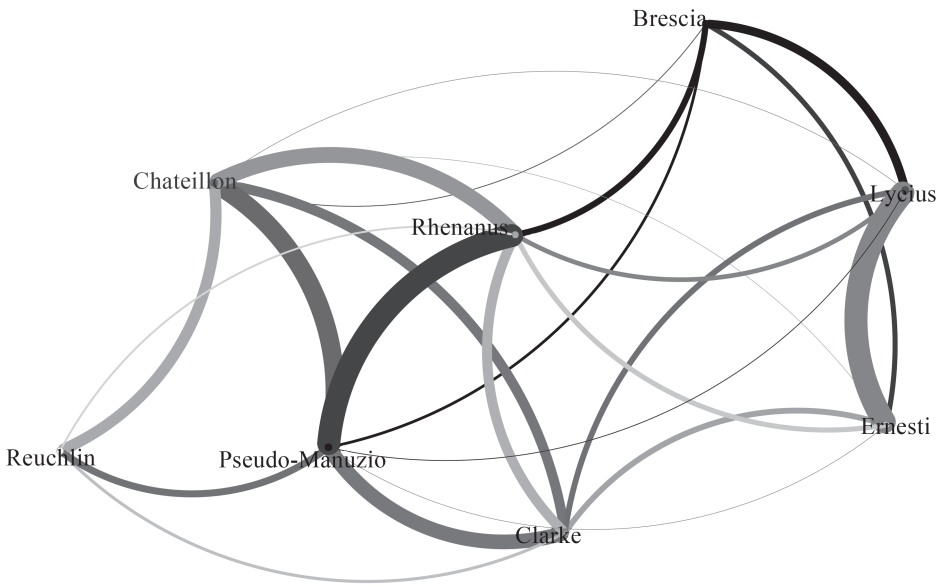

Figure 1. Stylometric analysis of prose translations. Bootstrap consensus tree. 100–1000 MW Culled @0%, Classic Delta distance, consensus 0.5.

The use of the original by Reuchlin is confirmed, since it has no relation to the Brescia version. As Knauer pointed out[49], his manuscript contains an annotation stating, "haec ego [...] verbum a verbum de graeco sermonem in Latinum traduxi" ("I have translated these from Greek into Latin word by word") and specifically references the Greek edition of 1486. Therefore, Zaggia's assertion that Reuchlin was working on a freely circulating copy of Brescia should be dismissed[50]. The case of Rhenanus is more complex. Although he owned a Tissard edition, none of his texts openly mentions the source. Knauer suggests that

[48] The application of stylometry and n-grams for investigating a broader corpus of Latin translations of the *BM*, both in prose and verse, will be demonstrated in Zbądzki 2023 (in press).

[49] Knauer 2004–2012: 200.

[50] Zaggia 2013: 47.

Rhenanus might have used the anonymous translation from Brescia[51], and Zaggia explicitly asserts this[52]. The line on the consensus tree is somewhat thin, yet we have to look at the bigger picture. The proportion might be distorted by the fact that the other translations are much more similar to each other. Futhermore, there are some phrases that were likely borrowed[53]. The overlap between translations indicates that Rhenanus used the Brescia text as a template, but the number of shared n-grams (from 81.40% 1-grams to 4.36% 10-grams) suggests that he made enough modifications so that his version could not be considered a copy. In contrast, Pseudo-Manuzio's text almost entirely replicates Rhenanus, just as Châteillon almost entirely replicates Pseudo-Manuzio. The graph exhibits a greater resemblance to him than to Rhenanus, and the n-grams make it clear – for example, there are 51.40% of the 10-grams, strings of 10 shared words, and they might be compared to 45.78% of the 10-grams shared by Châteillon and Rhenanus. A similar pattern applies to Clarke (83.08% 1-grams shared with Châteillon to 6.72% 10-grams; the graph line is slightly thinner due to small word frequency differences). Lycius' version is based on the Brescia text, while the version belonging to Ernesti represents a modification of Lycius' text, which is unsurprising, as this is noted in the introduction to his edition.

The differences in the various translations of the *BM* might be mostly due to corrections, although it is not always unambiguous. For example, the word δῆριν in the Greek original means 'struggle' or 'conflict', but the Brescia version translates it as *pugnam* ("battle"), while Rhenanus goes for *litem* ("quarrel"), and Reuchlin, similarly, *contentionem*, which may be a discrepancy in interpretation. Clarke initially follows Châteillon and chooses *litem*, while Ernesti uses *pugnam*, repeating after Lycius. The word δέλτοισιν, which is not a diminutive and does not denote books, is translated as *libellis* ("books") in the Brescia version, and Rhenanus makes the same mistake. Lycius and Clarke clearly corrected it and accurately rendered it as *tabellis* ("tablets"). Rhenanus combines the preposition *supra* with *genua* instead of *genibus* (probably correcting the ablative in the Brescia version into the more typical accusative), which Clarke no longer

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[51] Knauer 2004–2012: 200.

[52] Zaggia 2013: 46.

[53] Compare a few passages from the two editions: (1) "Si enim te nouero amicum dignum, in domum ducam, | Dona autem tibi dabo hospitalia multa et bona. | Sum autem ego rex Phisignathus, qui per lacum || Honoror: Ranarum ductor dies omnes" (Brescia). "Si enim te nouerim amicum dignum, ad domum ducam, | Dona autem tibi dabo hospitalia multa et bona. | Sum autem ego rex Physignathus, qui per lacum | Color: ranarum dux dies omnes" (Rhenanus). (2) "Quom autem amicum facias me ad naturam nihil similem? | Tibi quidem enim uita est in aquis, sed mihi [...]" (Brescia). "Quomodo autem amicum facies me ad naturam nihil similem? | Tibi quidem enim uita est in aquis, sed mihi" (Rhenanus). (3) "[...] dixit, surgens | O, amici, non occidi ego murem, neque aspexi | Pereuntem: omnino autem suffocatus est, ludens circa lacum" (Brescia). "dixit, surgens: | O, amici, non occidi ego murem, neque uidi / Pereuntem: omnino autem suffocatus est ludens iuxta lacum" (Rhenanus).

needs to fix. The anonymous version uses the words *opto* and *optans* to denote prayer, while *supplico* and *supplicans* are more specific, as chosen by Rhenanus. Lycius, on the other hand, uses *supplico* and *cupiens*, while Clarke and Ernesti write *exopto* and *cupiens*, all of them possibly guided by the principle of *variatio*. These examples suggest that the typical approach to translation work was to apply minor corrections (whether grammatical or semantic) to ready-made Latin translations, rather than relying solely on the Greek original.

It is clear that subsequent authors, who published texts that mirrored previous versions, did not deal with the question of the *BM* authorship. Zaggia tackled this issue, explaining that the prose translation was treated not as an original work, but as a foundation for free modification[54]. Therefore, revising authors did not sign it with their names[55]. However, Rhenanus appears explicitly in the Frobenius edition and de Schrijver's print edition cites Manuzio, who probably never worked on the *BM*. Even if the authors who published the prose versions did not claim authorship, they could be perceived as such because they included their names in their editions. Moreover, disputing their authorship was nearly impossible. A cross-comparison between the prose versions was likely unfeasible at the time of their publication and over the ensuing centuries, or at least significantly obstructed, suggesting that they circulated independently, gradually replacing the previous ones. This is illustrated in Maittaire's 1721 catalogue of the *BM* editions and translations, which only mentions *Aesopi Phrygis vita et fabellae*, omitting other prose versions. As can be seen, it was the norm to publish corrected texts in one's own name. Therefore, it may be inferred that Reuchlin was, in a way, the author of a verse translation of the *BM.* The prose versions of the *BM* served various purposes. According to Zaggia, it was mainly intended for educational use, but it also found applications in publishing[56]. This likely pertains not only to its role as a printed text, but also as a support in publishing the original or other translations, given the limited Greek proficiency. The educational role of prose translations is corroborated by Frobenius, who aimed to publish Greek-Latin bilingual texts that would enable humanists to learn Greek lacking instructors. Such editions were intended to allow individuals even to self-teach[57]. This was particularly pertinent for the *BM*, as its poetic figures and vocabulary, bearing significant resemblance to Homer's poems, could indeed serve as exemplars[58]. Although Frobenius did not express specific views on the authorship of the poem, he acknowledged that some humanists considered it

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[54] Zaggia 2013: 46.

[55] *Ibidem*, p. 47.

[56] *Ibidem*.

[57] Rhenanus 1518: p. 2.

[58] *Ibidem*, p. 2.

a work of an imitator, even citing the name of Tigres, who we know could not have written the *BM*. What mattered more than the author was the piece itself, full of signs of genius[59].

As we can see, the prose version functioned as a secondary, parallel channel for disseminating the poem. Instead of a canonical form, it was subject to alterations or temporary standardisations according to the will of subsequent editors and poets. This version not only served as a tool for publishers and a medium for Greek learning, but also contributed to the preservation of Homer's (supposed) legacy.

5. FIRST MINOR TRANSLATIONS

The history of early translations of the *BM* extends beyond well-known texts, including some that are now almost forgotten, with a few surviving in only one copy. Few sources, if any, mention many of these works. However, examining these translations can enrich our understanding. Between 1505 and 1511, Josse Bade published in Paris a translation *Batrachomyiomachia*[60] *Homeri per Servatium Aedicollium Agrippinum in latinos versus translata*. Subsequent editions were released regularly. In a dedicatory letter to Gerardus Hasseldus in the 1528 edition, Agrippinus introduces the *BM*, placing it in its standard context as a work by Homer[61]. He recommends it to Hasseldus as a means of taking a break from the rigours of studying and as an opportunity to find leisure, without which studying complex subjects becomes impossible[62]. For the first time, the theme of the didactic value of the *BM* is introduced. The cleverness and charm of the work may have appealed to young people as an example of Homer's alleged poetic development from the creation of the *BM* to the composition of great epics[63].

Agrippinus most likely translated from Greek, as suggested by the presence of the motif of writing on a tablet (*tabella*) in the original and in his version, whereas it was replaced in the prose version by books or booklets (*libellis*). However, his translation is not considered the best. Modern scholars such as Wilfried Stroh describe it as mediocre, significantly different from, for example, Marsuppini, and label Agrippinus as a mere imitator[64]. Stroh's observation is

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[59] *Ibidem*, p. 3.

[60] Mistakes like this, which reveal a poor understanding of Greek for the authors and publishers, are not unique. A similar error may be found, among others, in the Italian translation of Aurelio Simmaco de Iacobiti: *Batrachominiomachiae Homeri poetae permaximi nec non sexti libri Publii Maronis Virgilii Eneidos vulgari rhithimo traductio per Aurelium de Jacobictiis de Tussica [...]*.

[61] Agrippinus 1528: 1.

[62] *Ibidem*, p. 1.

[63] *Ibidem*, p. 1.

[64] Stroh 2016: 249.

not just critical but also relevant, as it indicates that the poem could be translated by almost anyone, particularly beginners, without the expectation of achieving perfection. This path was previously taken by Marsuppini, who translated the *BM* when he was around thirty to thirty-one years old, whereas Agrippinus published it in his twenties. Some authors were even younger – such as Calenzio who wrote his paraphrase of the *BM* entitled *Croacus* at the age of eighteen (so he claims, at least)[65].

The following translation is even more significant, as it is the first edition of a Greek literary text in German history. Tilmann Conradi included it in the edition *Batrachomiomachia Homeri Philymno interprete et Eulogia funebria*, which was published in Wittenberg in 1513, within a year of the author's journey to Bologna[66]. It is assumed that he encountered the poem for the first time there. The edition is rare and peculiar, featuring a Greek text without accents and punctuation marks, except for the colon. The introductory section lacks elegance, and there are alterations to the part concerning the assembly of the gods[67]. Conradi's edition consists of an epigram by Georg Daripinus Sibutus (1480–1528), an introduction by the author himself, together with two short verse pieces (a dedication and a praise of the *BM* and Homer in Greek iambics), a Latin translation of the epyllion accompanied by the Greek text, plus minor mournful works written in both languages. The Daripinus epigram is an example of conventional reading encouragement and praise. It underscores the authority of Homer and the previous inaccessibility of the work[68], as well as Conradi's scholarship as a skilled philologist and translator, all in favour of familiarising oneself with the translation[69]. On this occasion, Daripinus warns, comparing the poem to a shilling, not to underestimate it, since both the poem and the coin, albeit minor, have their value[70]. This symbolic imagery of the *BM* as a small, yet precious jewel will appear occasionally, as in the Leipzig edition of 1570, where Leonhart Lycius portrays it similarly[71].

In the introduction, Conradi explains the circumstances under which he composed the translation. The topos of writing at the request of others (*adhortatio aliena*), as well as a detailed account of the philological work, are present[72]. Conradi received the Greek text of the *BM* from his friends, which he

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[65] Calenzio 1503: 169. Although one might consider his statement an example of the topos, many authors translated the *BM* at the age of 20–30, so it is plausible.

[66] Bolte 1894: 43.

[67] Beloe 1811: 342–344.

[68] Conradi 1513: 1, vv. 1–2.

[69] *Ibidem*, p. 1, vv. 3–6.

[70] *Ibidem*, p. 1, vv. 6–8.

[71] Lycius 1566: 4.

[72] Conradi 1513: 2.

immediately regarded highly for its scholarly and entertaining content. Through Girolamo Balbi, Conradi was exposed to another edition and realised that some passages were missing from the version he had received and that the manuscript was a palimpsest[73]. He set to work reconstructing as much as he could, although he did not manage to fully restore it, as Beloe pointed out in the scene of the assembly of the gods. Yet, it was worth the effort – in his iambic verses Conradi emphasises the scholarship of the alleged author and the *BM* itself, presenting Homer as a teacher deserving of eternal respect. The importance of learning Greek by humanists is also underlined: those unfamiliar with it are considered almost illiterate.

Conradi's work and Sibutus' epigram show that by 1513, the *BM* was not widely known outside of Italy and was just beginning to circulate in Europe. It was primarily viewed as a Greek text, not yet fully integrated into Latin literary culture. This situation resulted in a reinvention of the wheel: Conradi, unaware of more complete Greek manuscripts than the palimpsest he had, probably believed that he was the first to prepare a complete edition of the *BM*. However, with no subsequent editions and scant evidence of readership, it seems that for the readers Latin translations were more important than the original text, since Conradi's version was quickly replaced by a more successful work by Reuchlin.

The single-edition translation of Venetian poet Domenico Mario Negri is enigmatic; the publication place, printer, and exact date of composition are unknown. However, we can estimate the *terminus post quem* using two clues: the mention of Cardinal Gasparo Cotarini, to whom Negri dedicated the poem, and Negri's account of his work on the translation. The tenure of Contarini (1535–1542) sets the bounds for our time frame.

In the introduction, Negri describes how he decided to create a more adept translation of the *BM* after reading a Latin version and learning of Julio Contarini's praise for it[74]. Negri does not specify the nature of this previous translation, but some verses hint at his reliance on Marsuppini or Reuchlin. Precise identification requires comparison of differences between these versions and Negri's work, which is somewhat difficult, as most of his verses are identical to those of both works. Here n-gram analysis may be used once again. To provide a few examples, the versions by Marsuppini and Negri contain 84.28% common 1-grams, 58.09% 2-grams, 47.55% 3-grams, 20.89% 8-grams, 17.94% 9-grams, and 15.27% 10-grams. In contrast, the versions by Reuchlin and Negri contain 84.37% common 1-grams, 58.46% 2-grams, 47.97% 3-grams, 21.97% 8-grams, 18.82% 9-grams, and 16.14% 10-grams. The variations appear for each n-gram and become more pronounced as the sequences lengthen, with about 1% difference in 8-grams and longer. This suggests that Negri likely used the Reuchlin

[73] *Ibidem*, p. 2.

[74] Negri 1535–1542 [?]: 1.

text and a selected Greek manuscript, highlighting the greater availability of different versions of the *BM* – Marsuppini's text was not the only one present in Italy.

Returning to the translation itself, Negri believes that the *BM* is the work of Homer, a view shared by Statius and a misidentified Pseudo-Herodotus[75]. Negri even promises to provide Julio Contarini with translations of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*[76], although it seems unlikely that he ever fulfilled this promise. Despite this erroneous attribution, Negri demonstrates a critical approach. He not only cites various opinions of ancient writers, but also differentiates the hymns from the work of Homer, ascribing them instead to Homer Sellius[77], as suggested by Domizio Calderino. Like his predecessors, Negri finds the poem to be graceful (a fact that, as he notes, no educated person could dispute[78]) and recommends reading it as a means of taking a break from more demanding studies[79]. Furthermore, he invokes Aesop's fables to remind readers that even lighter works can convey valuable lessons about life and morality[80].

Negri's translation validates that the *BM* was primarily read as part of the *otium negotiosum* and was considered a high-culture text. Negri's work also underscores a significant aspect of Renaissance translation practise: poets who make minor corrections to previous versions still considered themselves authors, and it would be anachronistic to deny them this recognition. Moreover, Negri introduces the first instance of a moralistic reading of the poem, a trend that would become more common in later translations.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

During the Renaissance, the *BM* emerged as a work attributed mainly to a young Homer, although its authorship was occasionally questioned. The poem was initially disseminated via Latin translations by Carlo Marsuppini and Johannes Reuchlin, prose, and later verse translations by less-known poets. Most of them were derived from prior versions, often copying and correcting available translations instead of translating directly from Greek. The journey of the poem to the readers was labyrinthine: individual versions vanished over time at their origins, and the authorship was sometimes forgotten. Some translators attempted to publish a complete text, oblivious to the fact that such a version already existed elsewhere in Europe. Latin versions of the *Batrachomyomachia*

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[75] *Ibidem*, p. 3.

[76] *Ibidem*.

[77] *Ibidem*.

[78] *Ibidem*, pp. 3–4.

[79] *Ibidem*, p. 4.

[80] *Ibidem*.

were typically used for learning Greek or as poetic exercises. However, this was only the start of a long lineage of translations and reinterpretations, from allegorical readings to versions dense with references to ancient poetry, dating back to the sixteenth century. Yet, as Stroh indicates, presenting the full story could be endless[81].

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[81] Stroh 2016: 249.

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DE GRAECO CODICE BIBLIOTHECAE ACADEMICAE WRATISLAVIENSIS GERMANICE EXARATO (SIC!)

scripsit

ANTONIUS HAAKER*

ABSTRACT: The anonymous manuscript preserved in Wrocław University Library with shelf number Akc.1948/183 is rather beautiful thanks to its neat calligraphy and its illustrations, but it is also very strange. Though described as a Greek codex in the library inventories and indeed written in the Greek alphabet, its text seems to make no sense. Like certain other early modern manuscripts such as the copiale cipher, the Rohonc codex or the famous Voynich manuscript, it is encrypted. However, what distinguishes Akc.1948/183 from these otherwise similar codices is the way it purports to be in Greek, so that the vast majority of readers do not even notice that it is ciphered. Such a strategy was successful. The Pseudo-Greek codex deceived readers for a few centuries, despite the fact that the cipher was relatively simple.

This article is a study of this curious manuscript. Its main goals are to uncover in what language it is written, to decipher its alphabet, and to determine its author, date of composition and content. It also offers some suggestions for interpretations: the Wrocław codex can be viewed as a sophisticated game typical of the baroque period. At the same time, it recalls a little known aspect of the reception of Ancient Greek in the West, namely the way humanists sometimes employed this learned language to avoid being understood by οἱ πολλοί.

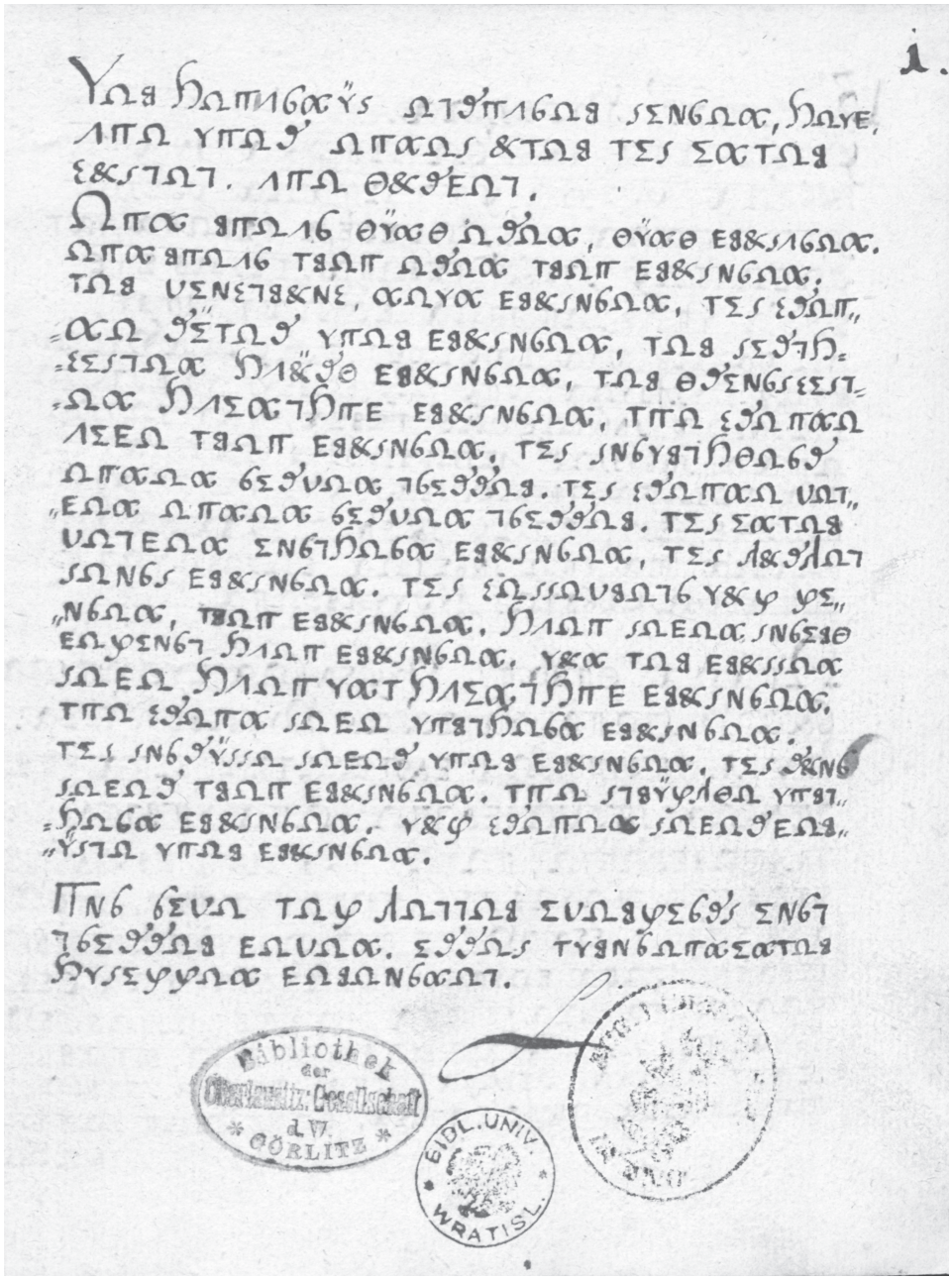
*Eδ∑Πε*Yφ* *Ω*S*ϛ, *α&α* *θΩ*EΠϛ*Y*δ*

Cum paucis abhinc mensibus munus in sectione manuscriptorum bibliothecae academicae Wratislaviensis accepissemus, brevi ad Graecos codices, qui in ea attinentur, animum adiecimus. Duo et quadraginta esse dicuntur[1]. In eo numero codex chartaceus saeculi XVII Akc. 1948/183 signatus, cui secundum inventarium opuscula de rebus divinis conscripta et nescio quae consilia ad usum vitamque communem pertinentia insunt[2]. Ad quae inspicienda cum accessissemus,

* A libris manuscriptis eiusdem bibliothecae (antoine.haaker@uwr.edu.pl). Initio huius opusculi debitas gratias agere velim anonymo eius censori, qui haud unum utile mihi dederit consilium.

[1] De codicibus Graecis bibliothecae academicae Wratislaviensis egit Constantinus Jażdżewski, quondam eorum doctissimus custos, in opusculo bonae frugis pleno, cui titulum fecit *Rękopisy autorów klasycznych w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu i ich opracowanie*, quod invenies in volumine, q.i. *Druga konferencja naukowa Komisji Bibliografii i Bibliotekoznawstwa Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, Wrocław, 3.–5. XI. 1954, Referaty i dyskusja*, Wratislaviae, a. 1957 edito, pp. 195–218. Codex, de quo scribimus, pagina 209 memoratur.

[2] Haec invenias in albo, in quo additicii codices primum describi consueverunt: "Teksty religiine [sic!] i wskazówki praktyczne w językach greckim i niemieckim. Prow(eniencja) Bibl(iothek)



I: Prima pagina codicis Wratislaviensis, cui signum Akc. 1948/183.

in bibliothecae horreo parvum volumen satis tritum invenimus. Eius dorsum corio, asses simplici charta colorata sunt convestita. Libro aperto, stupentes primam paginam aliquamdiu intuebamur. Talis enim titulus ibi cernitur (v. imaginem I):

> YΩ8 hΩΠN6αŸS Ωтθ ΠΛ6Ω8 SΣN6Ωα, hΩYE, ΛΠΩ YΠΩθ ΩΠαΩS
> &TΩ8 TΣS ΣαTΩ8 ε&SтΩт. ΛΠΩ Θ&θEΩт.

Quae quis vel leviter litteris Graecis tinctus non videt esse sensu cassa? Si nonnullos locos Germanice scriptos exceperis, omnia ea quae sequuntur eiusdem sunt farinae. Quid sibi velint permirae hae Graecanicarum litterarum series quaerenti cito apparet scriptorem, cum sua ab aliis legi nollet, alphabeto a se excogitato esse usum. Quam potestatem quae littera habeat, curve auctor sua abscondere voluerit, incertum. Immo ne hoc quidem asseverare prima specie queas, quo sermone haec scripta sint, utrum Graeco an Latino an alio. Est igitur Wratislaviensis liber similis codici Rohonczi vel Voynichi[3]. Ceterum, sicut illi, satis nitide exaratus est atque figuris hic illic (pp. 51, 62, 143, 108, 121, 136) ornatus. Singulas curatius describere supersedeo, cum imagines integri codicis nuper in rete omnium gentium positae sint[4]; hoc animadverto, pagina 108, cuius imaginem numero II notatam infra invenias, alembicum delineatum esse.

Quid igitur? Alchemicum opus his litterarum aenigmatis obtegi putabimus? An potius praecepta ad parandam aquam vitae ibi latere verisimilius esse ducemus? Haec cum apud nos reputaremus, codici seriam operam navare coepimus, si forte aenigma solveremus. Quoniam autem in manuscriptorum inventario locus longiori disquisitioni non est, ea, qualiaqualia sunt, in iustae commentationis formam redacta divulgare visum est.

QUIS SERMO SUB ARCANA SCRIPTURA LATEAT

Primum omnium codicis sermo coniectandus est. Frustra enim in alphabeto interpretando desudabimus, nisi prius quis sermo sub eo lateat divinaverimus. Atqui codicem Germanice esse conscriptum veri est simillimum. Cur? Quia codex, qui

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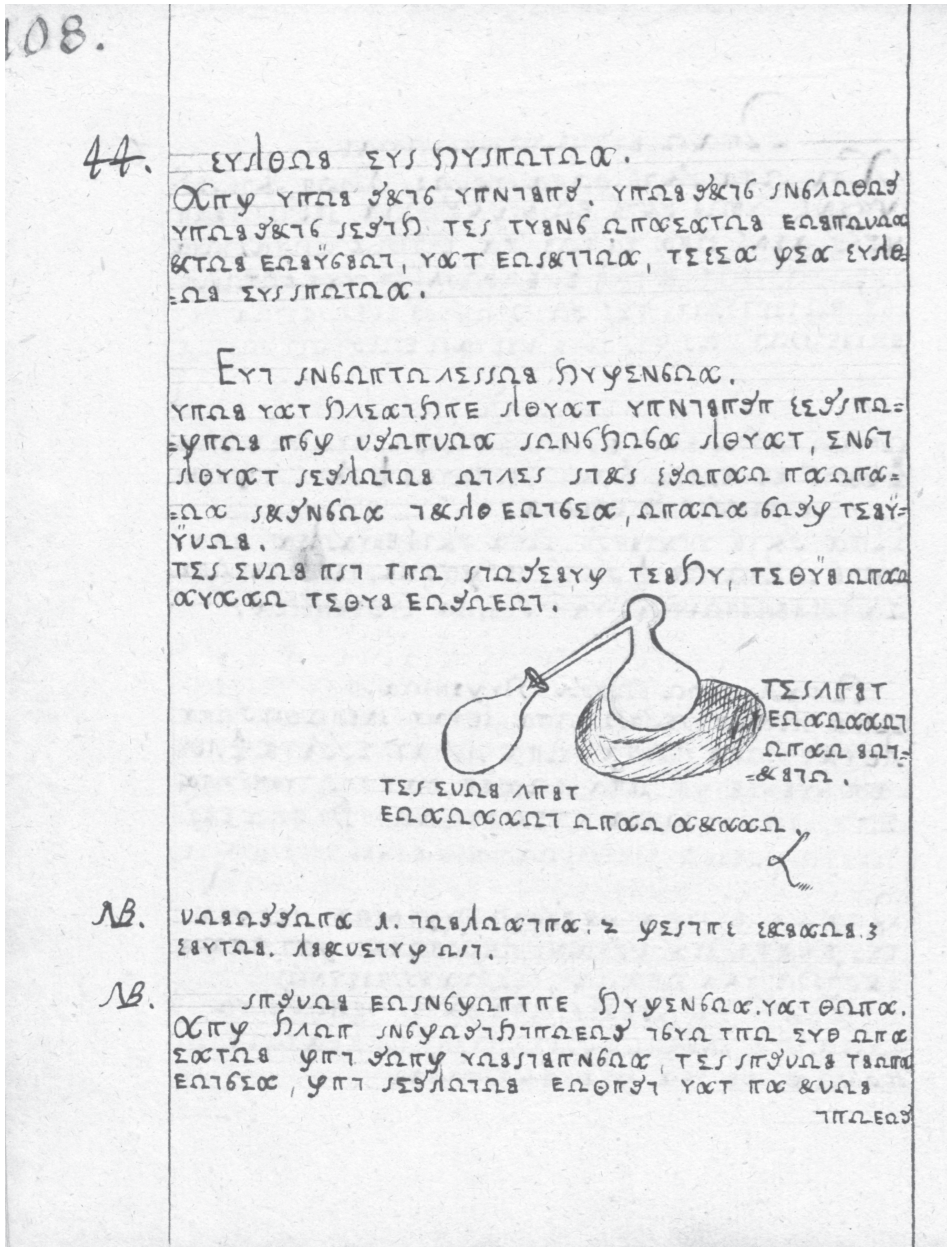
d(er) Oberlaus(itzischen) Ges(ellschaft) d(er) W(issenschaften) (zu) Görlitz. Dawna sygn(atura) L IV 285b". Quae verba anno 1948 exarata in omnibus deinceps inventariis repetita sunt.

[3] Codex Rohonczi, qui hodie in bibliotheca Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae custoditur, liber est chartaceus 224 foliorum, 87 figuris ornatus et perscriptus miro alphabeto, quod nemodum legere valuit. Quando exstiterit haud constat, at officinae chartariae signum ostendit paginas eius saeculo XVI esse factas. De eo libro videas Levente Sultani Király et Gabrielis Tokai opusculum, c.t. *Cracking the Code of the Rohonc Codex*, in per., q.i. Cryptologia, vol. XLII, fasc. 4 (2018), pp. 285–315. Ubi omnes commentationes, quae de eo singulari codice editae sunt, enumeratas invenies. De Voynichiano manuscripto nihil dicam. Notius est enim quam ut explanatione mea indigeat. Praeterea, haud pauca alia antiqua litterarum monumenta per notas scripta in tabulariis et bibliothecis asservantur. At sunt ferme epistolae principum eorumque legatorum vel exploratorum.

[4] Videsis https://glam.uni.wroc.pl/index.php?s=RKP_AKC_1948_183_61703&view=thumbnails&browser=seadragon (11 Augusti MMXXI inspiciebam).



II: Imago photographica paginae 108 codicis Wratislaviensis Akc. 1948/183 signati.

Gorlitii in bibliotheca societatis litterarum Lusatiae superioris usque ad alterum bellum omnium gentium servabatur[5], in Germania exaratus esse videtur et Germanica nonnulla continet. Porro consilimis codex, cui signum Akc. 1948/182 (olim L IV 285a), ab eodem viro, at omnino Germanice conscriptus est. Rarissima autem res est liber a viro Occidentali Graece compositus. Aut igitur sermone Latino scripta sunt, quae intellegere volumus, aut vernaculo eius regionis, ubi exstitit codex, id est Germanico. Atqui nonnullae voces Latinae Latinis litteris exaratae hic illic mediis in litteris Graecis conspiciuntur, velut *probatum est* paginis 4, 75, 76, 83; immo et Germanicas voces reperias, ut *praepariren* pagina 125 vel *Terpentinöle* pagina 129.

Mos autem fuit olim Germanis ut, si quid sermone patrio scriberent, Gothicis suis litteris, si quid Latine, Latinis uterentur, atque adeo ut etiam in Germanice scribendo peregrinae originis vocabula Latinarum litterarum usu saepe distinguerent. Itaque codicis nostri scriptor ea quae Gothicis litteris scribere consueverat, secreto alphabeto occultasse existimandus est; adventicias vero et externas voces quas Germanicae orationi aspersisset, Latino scribendi charactere exarasse. Quodsi contra Vratislaviensem codicem alio sermone conscriptum esse aliquis coniectet, Latinarum illarum litterarum rationem reddere frustra quaerat.

ARCANUM ALPHABETUM ENODATUR

Iam paene pro explorato habemus sub clandestinis illis litteris Germanicum sermonem latitare. Quomodo ignotum alphabetum enodabimus? Incipiendum a frequentissimis et brevissimis voculis. Primum quaerendae sunt formae finiti articuli (*der*, *die*, *das*). Quae ut creberrime in Germanicis scriptis leguntur, ita declinantur efficiuntque vocabulorum seriem inventu faciliorem. Nimirum reperienda sunt vocabula ternarum litterarum, quae ab eodem signo incipiant, in sequentibus fluctuent. Paucas pagellas rimanti brevi apparebit eiusmodi series:

ΤΣS, ΤΩα, ΤΩ8, ΤΩφ, ΤΩS, ΤΠΩ

Verimile fit T valere d. Nam *wer*, *wen*, *wem* et aliae huiusmodi formae longe minus frequenter occurrunt. Iam primum signum satis probabiliter explanavimus. Tota autem rei difficultas in initiis sita est, valetque maxime in tali negotio versiculus Horatianus “Dimidium facti, qui coepit habet”.

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[5] De hac virorum doctorum sodalitate legere est volumen, q.i. *Kunst und Wissenschaft um 1800. Die Sammlungen der Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Görlitz, herausgegeben von den Städtischen Sammlungen für Geschichte und Kultur Görlitz*, Biliveldae Vestfalorum, a. 2011 editum. Caput de societatis bibliotheca eiusque fatis legitur pp. 162–214. Bello ad finem vergente, Gorlitiensia κειμήλια rus deportata sunt ne perirent, si foederatorum aëroplani urbem pyrobolis impeterent. Tum plerique omnes libri calamo exarati societatis missi sunt in Silesiam. Unde numquam ad pristinam suam sedem reverterunt, hac regione Poloniae annexa, verum paucis post annis Wratislaviam, in bibliothecam academicam, convecti sunt.

Proinde bono simus animo: reliqua litterarum elementa facilius inveniemus. Articulus Germanicus sic declinatur ut, si excipias *die* et *das*, omnibus in formis sonus e secundo loco inveniatur (*der*, *des*, *dem*, *den*), id quod ad TΩα, TΩ8, TΩφ, TΩS quadrat. Ω valere e iam tenemus. E duabus reliquis Germanici articuli formis, una, *die*, in e desinit. Alia esse non potest nisi TΠΩ. Ubi Π sonet i necesse est. Tertia igitur littera enucleata est. Nulla autem articuli forma reliqua est, cuius secundum signum ignotum sit, nisi TΣS. Quod non potest nisi voci *das* respondere. Ex quo elucet Σ pro nostro a poni et S ut in alphabeto Latino, itidem in alphabeto Wratislaviensis codicis s valere. Quinque his litteris explicatis, reliquarum pronuntiatus pedetemptim retegemus. N ex creberrimo vocabulo *ein* eiusque formis *einen* vel *eines* facile eliciemus, ut pote qui iam e, i, s intellegamus. Nec maximi laboris erit invenire relativa, *wer* vel *was* ad duplicis u signum patefaciendum. Quid multis? Postquam duodecim circiter litteras hoc modo interpretati erimus, unam aut alteram paginam transcribere conabimur atque lacunis ingenii ope impletis, reliquarum litterarum potestates satis cito divinabimus. Nempe quo plura signa intellegemus, eo facilior erit de reliquis coniectura. Alphabetum XXV elementorum inveniemus, quod tabula infra posita explicat.

Wratislaviensis codicis clavis

FIGURA	POTESTAS	OBSERVANDA
α	n	
E	g	
ε	c (k)	
Θ	f	
θ	l	Paene ita pinguitur ut d scripturae Gothicae.
Λ	w (raro c)	Initio manuscripti auctor Λ cum N confudisse videtur. Id enim pro littera c usus est.
λ	p	
N	c	
Π	i	Ad dextram, linea superior nonnihil eminet.
Σ	a	Duobus punctis superscriptis valet ä.
T	d	
Y	u vel v	Neque enim u consonans a vocali distingui solebat. Porro, duobus punctis superne scriptis ponitur pro ü.
υ	b	

φ	m	
Ω	e	
h	z	
S	s	
x	q	
8	r	In manuscripto B inversum esse videtur.
6	h	
ד	t	Est tanquam inversum gamma vel Hebraicum daleth.
&	o	Duobus punctis notatum ö valet.

QUID IN MANUSCRIPTO INSIT

Patefactis singularum litterarum sonis, codicem legere iam possumus. Titulus, quem supra attulimus, transcriptus sic habet:

YΩ8 hΩΠN6αŸS Ωדθ Π16Ω8 SΣN6Ωα, hΩYE,
Ver zeichnüs[6] ethlicher Sachen, Zeug,

ΛΠΩ YΠΩθ ΩΠαΩS &TΩ8 TΣS ΣαTΩ8 ε&SăΩד. ΛΠΩ Θ&θEΩד.
wie viel eines oder das ander kostet. Wie folget[7]

Sequuntur in manuscripto variae res earumque pretia. Unde id statim cognoscitur non esse hoc opus de chrysopoeia, ut prima specie videri poterat. Alembicum autem, cuius figuram paginae 108 inesse diximus, non locum de auro conficiendo, sed de spiritus nitri, sive aquae fortis praeparatione illustrat. Etenim materies a codicis auctore tractata admodum varia est. Insunt praecepta de tincturis (paginis 17, 113 et seqq.), de re pecuaria (pagina 29), de medicina (passim), de re coquinaria (paginis 24, 44–56), de occidendis talpis (pagina 59), de aliis rebus. Legitur etiam pagina 5 praeceptum ad potionem alcoholicam miscendam (*cocktail* hodie appellant)[8]! Talia revocant in mentem Ioannem Colerum, Silesium Aurimontanum, aliosque scriptores, qui saeculis XVII vel XVIII τὴν οἰκονομικὴν Germanico sermone tractarunt. Porro, hic illic exaratae

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[6] Iunctim *Verzeichnüs*, id est, ut hodie loquimur, *Verzeichnis*.

[7] Cod. Wrat. Akc. 1948/183, pag. 1. Te semel monitum volo, me huius manuscripti locos ita transcribere, ut maiusculas litteras, quas nostrae aetatis consuetudo poscit, addam, cetera intacta relinquam.

[8] Praeceptum hocce tibi non invidebo: “Ein Tranck. Ein Quart-Rein=Wein [d.h. Rheinwein], ein Quart gutt Gerstenbier, ein viertigen gutten Brandtewein, ein vi<e>rtigen Weinessig, ein Halbpfundt Zucker, ein Halbquart Schönbrunnenwasser, dieses unter einander gerühret, und lassen frisch werden”.

sunt precationes (paginis 8, 56) vel pii versiculi (pagina 53). Reperias etiam instrumenta quaedam una cum indicaturis recensita (paginis 1, 110) vel parvi momenti observationes de rebus domesticis[9]. Alibi (pagina 72) experimentum, quo argenti bonitas probatur, descriptum est. Breviter, varia quaedam est silva rerum miscellanearum ad argumenta admodum diversa pertinentium. Quam silvam aliis diligentius lustrandam relinquo contentus indicare figuras, quas hic illic delineatas esse supra dixi, plerumque ad ea, quae narrantur, nihil pertinere. Sic, quamvis pagina 51 de quodam liquamine pomorum sit, ornata est anserculo in pavonem irruente (q.v. in imagine III).

Iam pauca addenda de tempore, quo liber exaratus est, deque eius auctore.

A QUO AUCTORE QUOVE TEMPORE CODEX EXARATUS SIT

Liber gradatim compositum esse inter annum nonagesimum et nonagesimum octavum septimi decimi saeculi docent temporis indicia, quae paginis 5, 26, 31, 63, 138, 140, 144 leguntur. Auctoris nomen, ut videtur, Georgius Frentzel. Itáque pagina 144 Gothicis litteris scriptum:

> George Frentzel.
>
> Zucht, Ehr undt Tugendt
> zieret wohl die Jugendt;
> je länger sie träget,
> je besser sie einen [corr. “eim”?] an stehet[10].
>
> Anno 1698, den 21 Februarij.
> Können wir nicht alle tichten, können wir doch alle richten[11].
> *Ede, bibe, lude; post mortem nulla voluptas. Vale!*

Hoc nomen reperitur una cum eodem Germanico symbolo in folio 6 v. codicis Akc. 1948/182 signati, cuius mentionem supra fecimus. Cum autem codex Graecitatem simulans, quo de agimus, eadem manu exaratus sit, nullus dubito quin Frentzelius ille utriusque sit scriptor. Haec autem adscriptio firmatur indiciis catalogi bibliothecae manu exarati, qui hodie quoque Gorlitii asservatur. Quo

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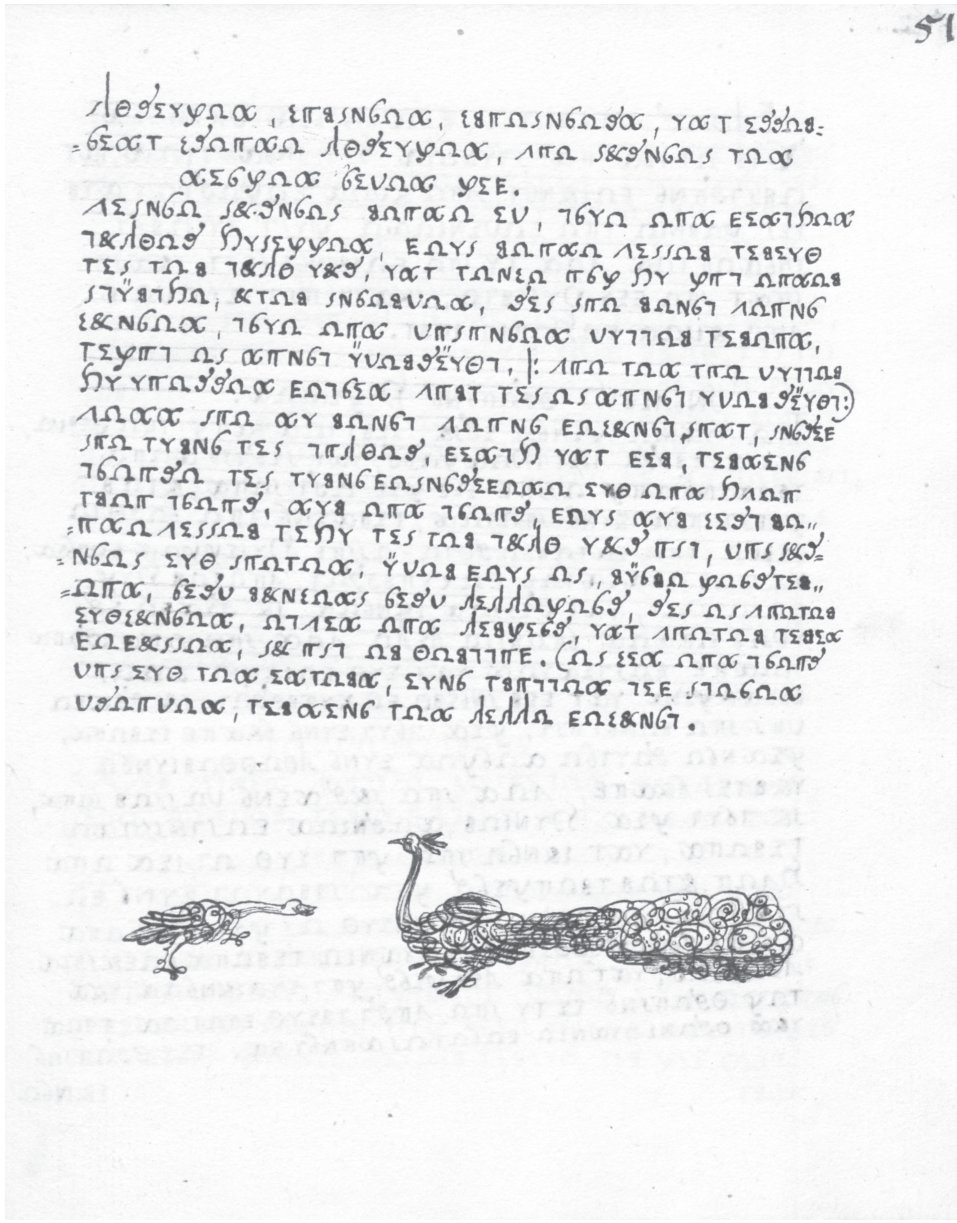
[9] Talis est, pagina 31, locus, cui lemma *Mein Bethe gekauft*. Sic habet: “Anno 1693. den 16. Decembris. habe ich mein Bethe bekommen, und auch den Tag gesetzet, kostet zehn Thaler”.

[10] Haec sententia reperitur in Germanicorum adagiorum collectionibus cum aliis, tum in volumine, quod Andreas Sutor inscripsit *Latinum Chaos de, ex, et pro omni, seu compendiolum pro usu quotidiano [...]* Augustae Vindelicorum, a. 1716 edito, p. 723. Ubi hoc Latino versiculo reddita est: “Integritas morum iuvenem facit esse decorum”. Cuius rei indicium Iacobo Pigoń debeo, academiae Wratislaviensis professori et primario horum commentariorum editori.

[11] *Tichten* int. *dichten*. Proverbialis est sententia quae iam saeculo XVI in usu erat. V. Michaëlis Neandri Soraviensis *Ethice vetus et sapiens*, parte altera, s.l. a. 1586 excusa, fol. 134 v. Ubi tamen legitur “Können wir nicht alle tichten / so wöllen dir doch richten”.



III: “Pflaumen, Kirschen, Kriescheln, und allerhand Pflaumen, wie solches den Nahmen haben mag”. Imago photographica paginae 51 codicis Wratislaviensis, cui signum Akc. 1948/183.

mea causa inspecto, doctor Stephanus Menzel, societatis scientiarum Lusatioris superioris praeses, me certiorem fecit[12] in eo ambos codices, quibus una nota L IV 285 est, Georgio Frentzel attributos esse et hoc titulo insignitos: *Sammlung von allerlei Nachrichten, Haus- und Geheimmitteln*.

De Frentzelio pauca comperta habeo. Hominem e Lusatia oriundum inde esse suspiceris, quod de ea regione saepe scribit. Quo pertinet etiam illud L in antiqua codicum nota, quod Lusatica indicat[13]. Forsitan Gorlitii habitaverit. Certe, in codice, cui signum Akc. 1948/182, saepius mentio illius urbis fit, ut foliis 44 r., 47 r., 47 v., 48 v., 49 v., 51 v., 52 v., 53 v., 54 r.

QUARE TALEM MATERIEM AUCTOR CELAVERIT

Mirabuntur hic nonnulli, quidnam in tali libro tantopere celandum fuerit. Sed fortasse singularis forma libri nihil est aliud nisi lusus quidam scriptoris, qui lecturos delectare eorumque simul acumen hoc artificio exercere volebat. Eadem de causa lepidis figuris codicem suum adornavit ac litteras accuratissime pinxit. Quo spectat etiam codicis acroteleuton, ut periti dicunt, nempe mirum illud quadrum, quod pagina 42 Frentzelius delineavit et in qua sententiuncula "Bet in der Not, so hört dich Got" variis modis legi potest (v. imaginem IV).

Nimirum tales *difficiles nugae* apud Germanos saeculi XVII magno in pretio erant.

CUR FRENTZELIUS GRAECIS LITTERIS USUS SIT QUAERITUR

Hic quaeri potest, cur Graecis potius litteris auctor usus sit ad scripta sua occultanda. Quidni sonos consuetis litteris tributos non permutavit potius vel nova signa excogitavit?

Usu veniebat olim ut si quid multitudinem celare vellent eruditi, id Graece scriberent. Nimis scilicet vulgatus erat Latinus sermo ut vel plebi reipublicae litterarum atque adeo nonnullis mulieribus pateret. Graeca vix ulli mulieri, vix adulescentulis intellegebantur, sed paene tantum viris iisque vere doctis. Quae res Martinum Crusium impulit ut in ephemeride, quam plerumque Latine scriptitaret, privata quaedam negotia atque somnia sua ὡς ἀπόρρητα Graece describeret[14]. Nec aliter egisse constat Dionysium Lambinum in adumbrationibus

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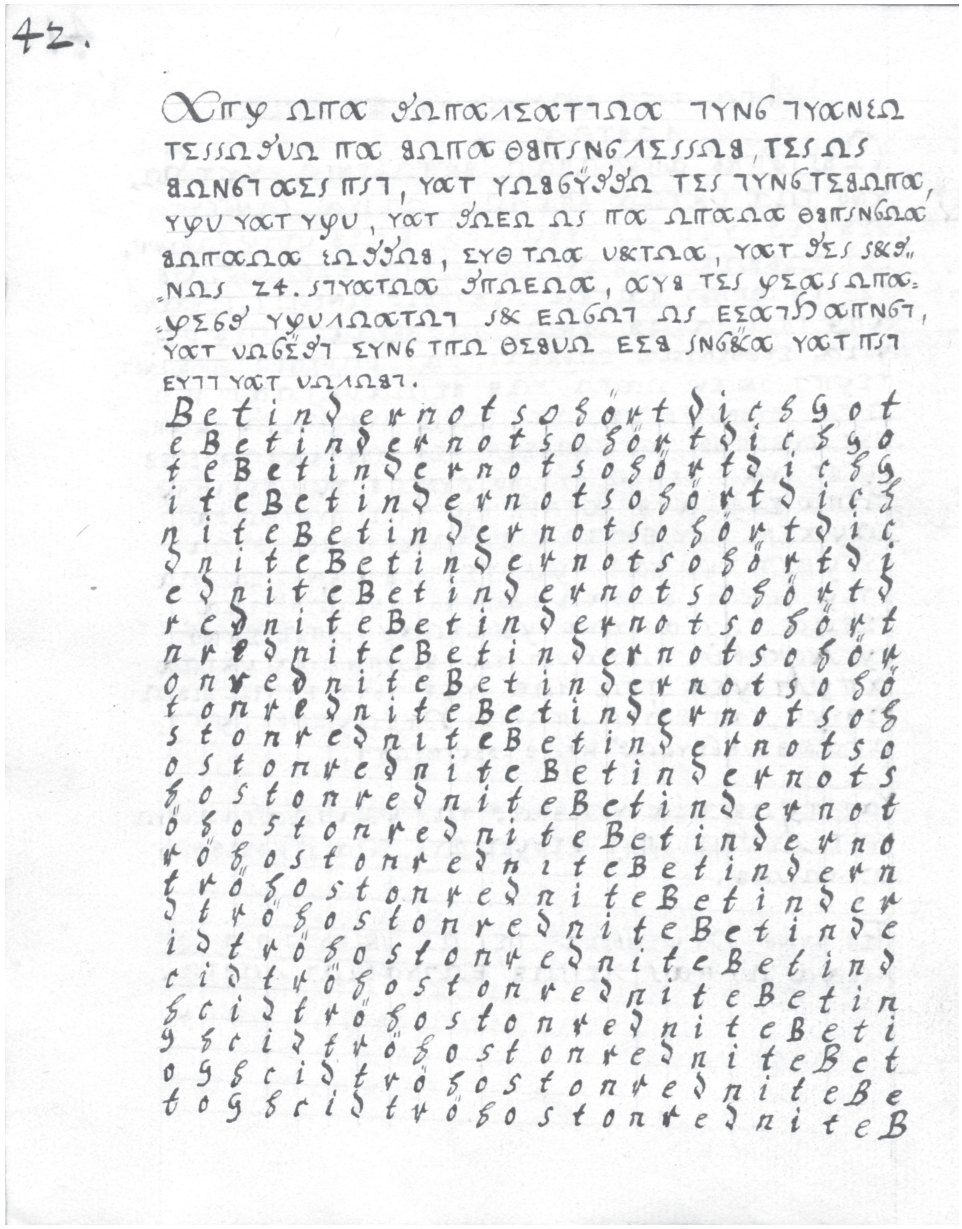
[12] In litteris pr. Kal. Sept. a. MMXXI datis. Doctori Menzel pro eo ac debeo gratias ago complures. Neutrum porro codicem inveni in Ioannis Gotthilfii Neumanni catalogo, cui index *Die Bibliothek der Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften alphabetisch verzeichnet* Gorlitii, a. 1819 duobus voll. edito. Unde et illud colligitur Georgii Frantzelii libros post annum 1819 in bibliothecam societatis esse illatos.

[13] Cf. lib. in annotatione 5 citatum, pag. 181.

[14] Videsis *Diarium Martini Crusii* Tubingae, a. 1927–1961 a Guilelmo Göz et aliis IV voll. editum.



IV: Imago paginae 42 codicis Akc. 1948/183 notati. Descripsit Frenzelius Davidis Cleselii "Denck-Täffelchen", quod insertum legitur in Abrahami Cleselii libro, q.i. Vergiß mein nicht / Oder Jesus-süsse Andachten Auff Sonn- und Fest-Tage [...] Lesnae, anno 1675 edito, fol. [7 v.]

epistolarum amatoriarum, quas ad puellas quasdam misit[15]. Ubi quicquid maxime celatum cupiebat, Graece exaravit, reliqua Latine, cum epistolae, quas vere misit, Gallicae procul dubio essent. Sic Aegidius Menagius, quemadmodum Historiam philosopharum[16] Latino sermone composuit, ut muliebrem eruditionem antiquitatis exemplo aequalibus suis approbaret, ita Historiam suam Graecarum meretricum[17] Graecam esse voluit ne scilicet feminae de subturpiculo hoc argumento legerent. Nicolaus quoque Zoravius, medicus et astronomus, de quo hoc in "Eus" fasciculo egimus, in exemplo suo Eberi calendarii Graece scribebat, si quid πρὸς τὰ ἄλφιτα attineret. Nimirum quantum pecuniae a quo pro vaticinationibus suis accepisset ab omnibus sciri nolebat[18].

Hunc morem Frentzelius imitatus est, verum, cum homo ceteroquin sollers et multarum artium peritus, litteras antiquas non didicisset[19], fecit quod poterat ut Germanice Graecis litteris scriberet. Id quod non sine exemplo est. Nam, ut dubium Caesaris testimonium praeteream, qui in quinto de bello Gallico (48, 4) mentionem facit epistolae Graecis litteris conscriptae, "ne intercepta [...] Romanorum ab hostibus consilia cognoscerentur" (neque enim de alphabeto tantum, verum etiam de sermone Graecorum haec verba accipienda esse videntur), exstant aliquot tituli Latini Graecis litteris scripti, ut is quem ANTONIO ΠΟΤΕΟΛΑΝΟ ΦΙΛΙΟ ΔΟΥΔΙCIMO [sic!] BEN MEPETI T ATONIOΣ [sic!] MAPINOΣ ΠΑΤΕΡ ΦΗΚΙΤ (*CIL* VI 2, 12006) vel dirae saeculo II p. Chr. n. in tabella plumbea incisae et Hadrumeti, anno 1889 a Gustavo Hannezo, Gallo optione antiquitatum perstudioso, repertae, quibus defixus est Sextilius quidam

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[15] Vide libellum, c.t. *Lettres galantes de Denys Lambin, 1552–1554.* Texte établi, traduit et annoté par Henri Potez, François Préchac, Lutetiae Parisiorum, a. 1941 editum.

[16] Vide librum, q.i. *Historia mulierum philosopharum scriptore Aegidio Menagio. Accedit eiusdem Commentarius Italicus in VII. Sonettum Francisci Petrarchae, a re non alienus*, Lugduni, a. 1690 vulgatum. Opusculum typis aliquoties repetitum est et in Diogenis Laërtii vitarum exemplis insertum, quarum quasi supplementum quoddam est. Hodie, crassantibus feminarum studiis, in omnes maiores sermones occidentalium est conversum, nempe in Germanicum, Anglicum, Gallicum, Italicum, Hispanicum. Repertus est etiam hic qui opellam eam Polonice redderet.

[17] Hoc Menagianum σύνταγμα de vitis scortorum Graeciae numquam typographo permissum est.

[18] Cf. *Calendarium historicum conscriptum a Paulo Ebero [...] et recens, ante obitum ab eodem recognitum plurimisque locis auctum* Vitebergae, a. 1571 excusum, quod in sectione librorum antiquorum bibliothecae academicae Varsoviensis servatur, numero 604.1471 insignitum, fol. 173 r. Quod indicium inveni apud Robertum Peressin in volumine, q.i. *La versione greca dell'orazione "Pro Archia poeta" di Mikołaj Żórawski (1632). Contributi all'edizione e allo studio del testo*, Berolini, anno 2020 edito, pag. 67.

[19] Sermonem Latinum (nedum Graecum) eum non attigisse ex sententiunculis vel vocibus Latinis, quas mendose descripsit, satis intellegitur. Sic pag. 24 scripsit: "Hic fuit Jesus amator generis humani. Una salis [sic!] hominis", et pp. 142–143 "spiritus vini retificati" (sic!; idque aliquoties, ut calami lapsus esse nequeat). In codice quoque, cui nota Akc. 1948/182, fol. 6. v. scriptum invenio: "Omnia si perdas, faman [sic!] servare memento. Vale".

a Septima, ut eam redamare cogeretur[20]. Quarum auctor, homo Graecorum sermonis ignarus, eorum saltem alphabetum adhibuit, credo, quia defixionem sic efficaciorem fore existimaret. Media quoque aetate Latinas subscriptiones vel medica praecepta quandoque Graecis litteris occultata esse constat[21]. Saeculo autem, quo Frentzelius fuit, in albis amicorum vel in familiaribus epistolis res haud diversae aliquando inveniuntur.

Et memini equidem cum aliquot abhinc annis una Gothae versaremur, Asaph Ben-Tov, vir studiorum orientalium historiae gnarissimus, mihi simili de re narrare. In Ioannis Ernesti Gerhardi vitam tum incumbebat, epistolasque virorum doctorum ad eum missas, quae magno numero in bibliotheca Gothana custodiuntur, lectitabat. Inter quas cum in Arabicam[22] incidisset, eam legere temptans Arabico quidem alphabeto exaratam, at Latinam esse tandem intellexit. Sed dum haec scribebamus, Asaph opus suum foras dedit[23]. Ubi imaginem photographicam eius epistolii Arabismum mentientis pagina 6 collocavit. Quod hic inseram sub singulis versibus eadem verba in Latinum alphabetum transcripta addens quo melius rem cognoscant ii qui librum adire nequeant vel quibus Arabica scriptura minus familiaris sit.

كْلَرِيسّيمِ أَتقِ إِخْسِيمِيا دُمِينِ

Clarissime atque eximie domine[24],

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[20] V. has diras in C.I. Att. append. Berolini, a. 1897 vulgata, p. XXVI vel ap. Augustum Audollent, in claro libro, q.i. *Defixionum tabellae*, Lutetiae Parisiorum, a. 1904 edito, ubi sunt numero 270 insignitae. Haec autem exempla invenimus in egregio opere quod Victor Gardthausen *Griechische Palaeographie* inscripsit, vol. II Lipsiae, a. 1913 edito, pag. 300.

[21] Qua de re te legere iubeo libellum, cui vir eruditissimus Bernhardus Bischoff titulum fecit *Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters*, in volumine altero libri, q.i. *Mittelalterlische Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* Stutgardiae, a. 1967 excuso, pp. 246–275. Ubi de id genus cryptographico Graecorum elementorum usu pagina 255 agit. Saeculo XV adhuc, reflorescentibus iam antiquis litteris, Italus quidam librarius hoc modo nomen suum posteris indicavit in fine exempli Ovidi Metamorphoseon a se exarato:

Νομεν νων πωνω ϙυηα Με λαυδαρε Νον υολο
ση υλτῖσ σιρε Κουανες Ϲαρλε φυητ ηλλε.

(V. *Catalogue of the Extraordinary Collection of Splendid Manuscripts [...] formed by M. Guglielmo Libri [...] Which Will Be Sold by Auction by Messrs. S. Leigh Sotheby & John Wilkinson [...]* Londini, a. 1859 editus, p. 167. Hoc quoque indicium acceptum refero lectioni Graecae palaeographiae Victoris Gardthausen. Q. v. loc. cit.)

[22] V. cod. Gothan. chart. A 639, fol. 153 r. Gerhardina collectio, ad quam pertinet hic codex, a Daniele Gehrt descripta est volumine, c.t. *Katalog der Handschriften aus den Nachlässen der Theologen Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) und Johann Ernst Gerhard (1621–1668) aus den Sammlungen der Herzog von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha'schen Stiftung für Kunst und Wissenschaft*, Aquis Mattiacis, a. 2016 excuso. Quod tamen non vidimus.

[23] Videas Asaphi Ben-Tow librum, c.t. *Johann Ernst Gerhard (1621–1668). The Life and Work of a Seventeenth-Century Orientalist*, Leidae et Bostoniae apud officinam Brillianam a. 2021 editum.

[24] Haec de transcribendi ratione observes velim: signa diacritica, quibus Arabes in sermone puriore ad i correptum denotandum uti consueverunt, ab epistolae auctore ad e scribendum esse adhibita, ut in dialectis quibusdam atque in sermone Persico recentiore; dein iisdem signis

مَاجِيسْتِرْ أَمِيكِ كُلِنْدِيسِّيمِ
magister, amice colendissime,

رِمِيتُّ تُوإِ كْلَرِيتَتِي بِلَّرْمِينُومْ
remitto Tuae Claritati Bellarminum[25]

إِت يُونِيُومْ كُومْ دِبِينَ جْرَتِيأَرُومْ
et Iunium[26] cum divina gratiarum

أَكْتِيأُنِ. رُجُا فُرُّ أُوت فَرْتِيم
actione. Rogo porro ut partem

فْرِيمَمْ إِت سِكُونْدَمْ كُنْبِسِّيأُنِيس
primam et secundam Confessionis

كَثُلِيكَا فَرِنْتِيس بِأَتِيسِّيمِ يِ
catholicae parentis beatissimi[27]

مِيهِي مِيتَّت أَكْ كُمُّدِت بْرِوِي
mihi mittat ac commodet; brevi

رِستِيتوأَم. بِس كِ وَلِ إِتْ سَلْوِ
restituam. Hisce vale et salve

أَ كولتُر توأُ
a cultore tuo.

دَبَم ين إِ يل
Dabam in Eile[28]. [!?]

مِيخَإِلْ سْفِيس
Michaël Spieß

Talia παίγνια Lusatis non ignota esse demonstrat liber, qui in sectione manuscriptorum bibliothecae academicae Wratislaviensis attinetur, Milichianus classis VIII numero 6 insignitus[29]. Agitur de libello, in quo Gorlitiensis gym-

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diphthongum ae quoque esse scriptam, siquidem secundum tralaticium sermonis Latini pronuntiatum e quoque sonat; postremo, quoniam nec p, nec g Arabibus nota sunt, hoc per جِيمٌ, illud per فَاءٌ efferri. Sunt praeterea nonnulla mendose vel mire exarata. Nos vero a manuscripti scriptura transversum unguem non discedendum existimavimus ut vel inconstantiam scriptoris in usu notae quam grammatici *sukūn* appellant vel errores in litteris connectendis fideliter repraesentaverimus.

[25] Roberti Bellarmini, clarissimi Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalis librum.

[26] Tantum abest ut huius libri inscriptionem coniectura consequi queam ut cuius fuerit Iunii nesciam.

[27] Cf. *Iohannis Gerhardi, SS. Theol. Doct. et in Acad. Ien. Prof. Publ. Confessio catholica et evangelica, quam Ecclesiae Augustanae Confessioni addictae profitentur, ex Romano-Catholicorum scriptorum suffragiis confirmatur, in quattuor tomos distributa* Francofurti et Lipsiae, a. 1679 edita.

[28] Diu quodnam loci nomen sub litteris hisce lateret divinare conabar. Nequiquam. Nam, ut videtur, auctor epistolium suum iocullariter duobus Germanicis verbis concludere voluit.

[29] Breviter hunc librum descripsit Leo Górecki in volumine cui index *Katalog rękopisów obejmujący sygnatury 6268–6790. Dawny zbiór Biblioteki J. G. Milicha w Zgorzelcu. Cz. II. Rękopisy nowożytne*, Wratislaviae, typis academicis a. 1990 edito, pag. 242.

nasii alumnus, nomine Daniel Vechnerus, saeculo XVII exeunte stili exercitia exaravit. Ibi magna est copia epistolarum variis admodum et exoticis litteris conscriptarum ut, cum primum codicem in manus sumpsissem, ad hominis adulescentis πολυγλωττίαν obstupuerim. Mox, paulo diligentius eius pugillares rimatus ut quibus linguis scripti essent in inventario indicarem, epistolas aliquot eiusdem prorsus generis esse comperi, nempe Germanicas vel Latinas, verum Syriacis, Hebraicis, Samaritanisve litteris perscriptas[30].

Aliud tamen erat Frentzelii temporibus Latina vel Germanica Arabicarum vel Syriacarum litterarum involucris obtegere, aliud ea Graecis scribere litteris, quae tunc magis erant quam aetate media vulgatae[31]. Ne igitur nimis esset promptum id quod scriptum esset legere omnibus iis qui tantum Graecarum litterarum elementa didicissent, Frentzelius novas potestates litteris indidit. Sciebat porro sua aetate, cum vetus illud verbum "Graecum est, non legitur" apud plurimos adhuc valeret, plerosque eorum, qui ad librum accessissent, Graecum esse ratos, ne conaturos quidem esse intellegere, idque etiamsi quondam operam aliquam linguae Graecae dedissent (adeo quidam persuasum habent sese hanc linguam non intellegere, postquam eam in schola attigerunt). Frentzelium recte praevidisse demonstrant codicis fata. Qui in publica bibliotheca apud Gorlitienses diu delituit; dein, anno MCMXLVIII in bibliothecam academiae Wratislaviensis illatus, atque

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[30] Haud scio an adulescens hosce lusos excogitaverit, postquam cryptographiae elementa didicerat in enchiridio, quod Samuel Schmid, Lusatus Zittaviensis de arte epistolas conscribendi composuit (V. eius *Hodegus epistolicus viam facilem expeditamque commonstrans, qua imperiti adhuc et rudes tirunculi ad aliquam epistolas Latine politeque scribendi facultatem pervenire possunt [...]* Brunsvici, a. 1674 editus, pp. 13–14 et Mil. VIII 6, pag. 22, ubi iuxta epistolion occultis notis scriptum, in margine Vechnerus addidit "Conf. Sam. Schmid. Hodeg. Epistol.").

[31] Alioquin tota res iocus visa esset non multum abhorrens ab eo, quem Christianum Thomasium olim fecisse memoriae prodidit Wolfius. Sic enim ille in analectis suis litterariis: "Es ist bekannt, inquit, dass der hochverdiente Thomasius mit der Griechischen und selbst der Lateinischen Sprache nicht in bestem Vernehmen stand; wodurch er eben zu dem nachher sehr anerkannten Verdienst gezwungen wurde, die Deutsche Zunge zum Organ wissenschaftlicher Belehrung auf unsern Hochschulen zu erheben. Einst soll ihm ein muthwilliger Student beim Abschied, nach damals beliebtem Brauch, sein Stammbuch überreicht haben, mit der Bitte *etwas Griechisch* hinein zu schreiben. Da schrieb er: κακατὸν οὐκ ἔστι πικτόν. (Ordentlich so mit Accenten. Ein Muster zu vielem Griechisch, das früher und später bis auf unsere Zeit nicht bloss von Anfängern geschrieben worden ist.)" (V. *Litterarische Analekten*. Herausgegeben von Fried. Aug. Wolf, vol. II, Berolini, a. 1820 evulgato, pp. 303–304.) *Cacatum* autem *non est pictum* Germani proverbialiter dicere solent, si quando opus artifici parum feliciter cessisse putant. Thomasianum hunc iocum iam reperio in commentariis periodicis, q.i. "Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit", curante Ioanne Christophoro Gottsched Lipsiae, a. 1760 excusis, pag. 629. Eadem politissimus scriptor Eichstadius narrat, nisi quod addit rem Halis factam esse et Thomasium subridentem discipulo primum suasisse ut adiret ad litterarum Graecarum professorem, qui tum in Halensi academia nullus erat! V. Henrici Caroli Abrahami Eichstadii *Oratio de Christiano Thomasio mutati in scholis Germaniae academicis sermonis auctore [...] die 12 Septembris a. MDCCCXXXVII habita* et eodem anno Ienae edita, pag. 12. Cf. denique volumen, q.i. *Jugenderinnerungen Karl Friedrichs v. Klöden.* Herausgegeben und durch einen Umriß seines Weiterlebens vervollständigt von Max Jähns, Lipsiae, a. 1874 excusum, pp. 369–370.

inde ab illo tempore haud semel in inventariis descriptus, usque ad hunc annum[32] inter Graecos codices numerabatur. Hac in re differt ab aliis eiusdem generis codicibus. Nam manuscriptum Rohonczy, Voynichi, Berolinense copiale[33], quod dicitur, scripturae peregrinitate naturam suam statim prodentia legentes ad se alliciunt atque ad solvendum aenigma, si possint, veluti provocant; Wratislaviensis codex ipse occulitur Graecitatem ementitus.

Wratislaviae

[32] Scripsi haec anno MMXXI. Hanc enim commentationem Kal. Sept. illius anni "Eus" editoribus proposui.

[33] Codex ille saeculi XVIII e 105 paginis arcano alphabeto exaratis constat. Primi, explicata eius scriptura, librum Germanicum esse et ad societatem quandam liberorum murariorum pertinere demonstraverunt Coemgenus Knight, Beata Megyesi, Christianaque Schaefer. Videas eorum commentationem, c.t. *The Secrets of the Copiale Cipher*, vulgatam in Journal for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism, vol. II, 2, a. 2011, pp. 314–324; item paginam, cui index https://cl.lingfil.uu.se/~bea/copiale/ (die 19 Augusti a. MMXXI inspiciebam).

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ARGUS' WINK: ON THE ADVANTAGES OF READING OVID'S *METAMORPHOSES* WITH ONE HUNDRED EYES*

by

BARTŁOMIEJ BEDNAREK

ABSTRACT: The article discusses the episode in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in which Hermes lulls Argus to sleep by telling him the story of Pan and Syrinx and then cuts his head off. The passage has often been read by scholars as a metanarrative joke that Ovid makes about tales that his readers may find too boring to follow. Argus is thus supposed to be a figure of a disengaged reader. As I argue, however, Ovid's text makes it clear that Argus was simply too naïve and too profoundly captivated by the story to resist its charm. Therefore, he should be taken as a figure of a childish listener, whom Ovid did not intend to exclude from enjoying his poem.

By the end of the first book of his *Metamorphoses* (667–722), Ovid presents a charming and terrifying story that has been rightly recognised as an implicit poetic manifesto. The wider context is provided by the myth of Io, who is transformed into a heifer and watched over by a monstrous cowherd Argus. Argus had one hundred eyes, which enabled him to keep a constant watch on Io because, as Ovid explains (625–627), even when some of his eyes rested, the others would remain open. Anxious to get rid of this guardian and to lay his hands on the lover (Io), Jove sent Mercury, disguised as a goatherd, who attracted Argus' attention by playing panpipes[1]. Intrigued by this novel instrument, Argus invited Mercury to sit with him and pasture his goats on the nearby grazing. After an entire day of listening to Mercury's stories and music, when he was already

* I would like to thank the first readers of this article for their insightful comments. Among others, I am indebted to Jory Debenham, Kresho Vuković, Eleonora Colangelo, Iwona Krawczyk (who said that Argus must have died smiling), and the anonymous referees. The research was possible thanks to the Polish National Science Centre (NCN) grant number 2018/31/D/HS3/00128.

[1] As an anonymous reviewer pointed out to me, the captivating power of music is much of a commonplace in antiquity. An iconic example is provided by Orpheus.

sleepy, Argus asked about the origins of the panpipes. What follows is an aetiological story about Pan and his love for the Nymph Syrinx. Very much like in the tale of Apollo and Daphne narrated a little earlier in the same first book of the *Metamorphoses*, the Nymph, who did not reciprocate Pan's desire, tried to run away from him and was transformed into a reed. Subsequently, Pan used this plant to fashion the instrument that Argus saw in Mercury's hand.

More intriguing than the tale of Pan and Syrinx itself is the way in which it is presented. Whereas its first eleven and a half lines are brought to the extradiegetic audience in the form of a citation of Mercury's own narration, subsequently, the primary narrator takes over and instead of offering us a full-fledged epyllion, he summarises the remaining part of the story, informing his listeners/readers that Mercury was going to tell it, but... (700: "restabat uerba referre"). The reason for this change of narrating voice is not explained until line 713, when the attention shifts again from Pan and Syrinx back to Mercury and Argus. This is where we are told that the latter had fallen asleep while listening to the story, which Mercury did not care to finish. Instead, he cut Argus' head off, thus accomplishing the task of liberating Io.

The metanarrative potential of this story has been properly recognised by scholars, and due amount of interest has been given to it[2]. However, there is a curious misunderstanding regarding the most superficial layer of what is happening in the story, which continues to be expressed by scholars, bringing much detriment to our understanding of what Ovid tries to say about storytelling. For example, Feldherr[3] speaks of Argus' "failure as a listener to be absorbed by the narrative", while Konstan[4] goes as far as to say that the tale of Pan and Syrinx "bores one of its listeners to death". Both scholars nuance these statements in a way that makes them more interesting than this; however, at least some aspects of the conclusions they draw from the passage are undermined by what I believe to be a misinterpretation of Argus' condition. In what follows, I address the problem of this misinterpretation of Ovid's text, which will hopefully allow us to understand it better and wholeheartedly enjoy the humour of the passage. The overarching goal of this procedure is the rejection of interpretations that are interesting but poorly grounded in the material, which have often been offered by contemporary scholars who are primarily concerned with the meta-narrational level of the poem. Instead, a set of alternative and no less important conclusions regarding Ovid's implied readership can be drawn from the text.

What is crucial for my argument is that Argus was not disinterested. On the contrary, he was a voracious consumer of tales, but failed to understand how

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[2] E.g. Galinsky 1975: 174; Konstan 1991; Wheeler 1999: 80–81; Rosati 2002: 274–275; Feldherr 2010: 21–24.

[3] Feldherr 2010: 22.

[4] Konstan 1991: 16.

they worked. This is precisely the opposite of what Konstan said in his seminal and fascinating, even if misleading, article *The Death of Argus, or What Stories Do: Audience Response in Ancient Fiction and Theory*. The point of departure for his inquiry is the statement that "loss of interest, or falling asleep in the middle of the tale, is a drastic response to a text – or rather, it is the failure to respond to the text at all"[5]. This is, however, only sometimes true. Even though we expect the audience to respond vividly to some narrations and we may feel disappointed if they fail to, there are many instances in which the goal of a storyteller is precisely the opposite. Leaving aside the post-truth media, the most obvious example is provided by bedtime stories, which parents, grandparents, and nurses still tell children today. Admittedly, probably due to the nature of our sources, we hear next to nothing about such a practice in antiquity[6], but it seems reasonable to assume that this is what Mercury's story essentially was. The goal of telling such a story is radically different from what we want to achieve when we try to communicate something by means of a narration. The right response to a bedtime story is that the narratee falls asleep, but this does not result from a lack of absorption in the narration. Being captivated by a narration is actually the condition for a child to drift away and fall asleep. Otherwise, he or she gets distracted, which may manifest in asking endless questions or some other such activity. In other words, when a bedtime story fails, the child behaves like a scholar who dissects Ovid's poetry rather than letting it transport them into the realm of fantasy.

Attention to detail, which is so characteristic of inquisitive readers, did not, however, prevent Konstan from overlooking the fact that Ovid made it very clear that Argus was not immune to the charm of the story. He did not fail to respond to it. On the contrary, in lines 625–627, we are told that he never slept, until Mercury played his trick on him. Clearly, it was the story itself that made him drift away rather than boredom or lack of involvement in the narration. In this respect, Argus was a model of a cooperative listener of a certain kind; we may consider him a childish listener.

Interestingly, by drawing a distinction between two types of readers presupposed by the passage in the *Metamorphoses* (a good reader vs. Argus-like reader), Konstan suggests that Argus was the opposite of a somewhat naïf person, who gets involved in the story. Based on a binary opposition he deduced from Plato's and Aristotle's works (whose pertinence in this case cannot be taken for granted), he concluded that a listener who does not get excited by a narration must be philosophically detached from emotions it triggers by virtue of his or her analytical interests in the workings of a narration. *Prima facie*, this may find some support in the fact that Argus was not disinterested in how things work,

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[5] Konstan 1991: 16.

[6] See Jouanna 2017: 83–88.

given that he asked a question regarding the origins of the panpipes (687). This, however, does not make him a philosopher. Children ask questions as well. As Feldherr observes, Argus' interest seems superficial in many respects[7]. Thus, the following statement he makes is partially true:

> Argus is guilty not only of a lack of interest in the story, but also of a lack of awareness of his present circumstances, of the context in which the story is told. Falling asleep, after all, is hardly the connoisseur's response to a poet's technical craft. He fails in both the aspects of the task that Ovid has set for his reader of being at once inside and outside the story. Thus, Argus' failure to enter into the narrative comes not simply from a lack of psychological engagement with the narrated events but also from the passive assumption that he is outside or beyond the reach of the narrative, when in fact the tale of Syrinx is very much a part of his story[8].

Indeed, Argus commits the fatal error typical of characters in horror movies who would be more reluctant to roam in a forest at night had they known that they were in a horror movie. As for yourself, I think your response to the text you are reading would be completely different if you had a reason to believe that you were a fictional hero of a *carmen perpetuum*[9]. By overlooking his own fictionality, Argus made a mistake, which cost him life. This is, however, not a particularly elevated cost, given that his life was also fictional. One may even observe that by doing this, he deserved his place in Ovid's poem, receiving a kind of immortality that only literary characters can afford, provided that they do what is expected of them, which they obviously do, given that the liberty to recalcitrate against the author's will they may seem to enjoy can only be fictional.

It is difficult to tell whether Ovid wanted us to think in such a way. Nevertheless, a sort of metafictional twist was probably apparent to more attentive listeners of early performances of Ovid's poem, who could draw a parallel between Argus and themselves. This was enhanced by the similarity between the tale of Daphne and that of Syrinx. The extradiegetic audience, cultured members of Roman elites, had just listened to the story of Apollo's love affair. Now, their attention turned to the intradiegetic audience, which consisted of a cowherd, who, sitting on a rock with his hundred eyes fixed on his only cow, was listening to a very similar tale. The main difference was that its main character was a hyperbolically rustic god Pan, as suitable for Argus as Apollo was for cultured Romans[10]. This

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[7] It shall be observed that, despite Feldherr's (2010: 21) statement that Argus failed to realise that Io was not just a cow, Ovid's text does not contain any clues to such an effect. We know that Naiads and, initially, Inachus did not know Io's true identity. We know that Jove and Juno knew it. Argus' knowledge or lack of it is not referred to, which means that it was irrelevant for Ovid's purposes.

[8] Feldherr 2010: 24.

[9] Did you laugh?

[10] For the contrast between Apollo and Pan, see also Ov. *Met.* XI 146–178.

parallelism could render the differences between the two narrational levels more conspicuous; whereas the fictional simpleton just fell asleep, the cultured audience appreciated the poet's wit and their own capability to perceive it.

Again, even though we do not know what Ovid really wanted us to think, it is clear that his *Metamorphoses* lends itself particularly well to such complex, self-referential readings. There is, however, a serious risk involved in privileging such a perspective, which may be, to a large extent, anachronistic. This is particularly clear, given that serious attempts to explain the complexities of the narratological levels of the *Metamorphoses* are not older than the narratology itself[11]. Notwithstanding, Ovid has been very widely read over the last two millennia. Some of his readers were certainly attentive to details and able to grasp much of the structural finesse of the poem, even if they did not have the analytical tools suitable for describing it. Many others have treated it as an anthology of stories, each of which can be read separately from its context with some detriment to its meaning, but which are nevertheless entertaining. The *Metamorphoses* can be also read as a bedside book. If we fall asleep from time to time and fail to understand how one story ends and how it is related to the one that follows, it does not prevent us from enjoying the book and returning to it on a regular basis.

The fate of Argus can be obviously taken as a warning against such an irreverent approach to Ovid. However, in order to take it as a warning, one has to read the *Metamorphoses* much more carefully than Argus did. Thus, a reader capable of appreciating the humour of this self-referential allusion hidden below the surface of the tale is immediately rewarded for his or her discovery. A sloppy reader who fails to do so is rewarded nevertheless. Like Argus, such audiences indulge themselves in submerging in the world of pure fantasy. Ovid seems to extend an invitation to enjoy his text to both types of readers. If you have any doubts about this and you think that there is a serious risk involved in reading like Argus, it means that you have not read it carefully enough to realise that this threat is illusory. After all, the sword with which Mercury is going to slit your throat is fictional.

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[11] For references, see Rosati 2002: 272.

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UNA LETTERA DI NICCOLÒ ZORAVIO (MIKOŁAJ ŻÓRAWSKI, 1595–1665) A LEONE ALLACCI[1]

edita da

ANTOINE HAAKER

ABSTRACT: This short paper is, in a sense, an appendix to a review of Roberto Peressin's book about the Polish Hellenist Nicholas Zoravius or Mikołaj Żórawski (see pp. 274–276 below in this volume of "Eos"). It contains the text of a hitherto unpublished letter written by Zoravius to Leo Allatius and preserved in the Vallicellian Library in Rome. The Latin text is illustrated by a few notes and a brief introduction explaining its value with regard to our knowledge of Zoravius. A photograph of the letter has also been added in order to provide a specimen of Zoravius' handwriting.

Nel 2019, mentre si teneva a Breslavia il convegno *Ars recusandi*, organizzato dall'Istituto di studi classici, mediterranei e orientali dell'università della città, ebbi l'occasione d'incontrare la professoressa Barbara Milewska-Waźbińska. Mi parlò della traduzione greca della *Pro Archia* di Niccolò Zoravio, e della tesi di dottorato che le aveva dedicato e stava per pubblicare il suo alunno Roberto Peressin. L'argomento m'interessava molto, perché ho dedicato un articolo generale al fenomeno delle traduzioni greche in Occidente[2], articolo nel quale menziono lo Zoravio. Segnalai allora alla professoressa l'esistenza di una lettera greca allo Zoravio, che, forse proprio perché greca, era fin allora sfuggita all'attenzione dei ricercatori che si sono occupati di quest'umanista polacco: si tratta di una curiosa lettera del Petavio sulle sue traduzioni greche di opere di Cicerone[3]. Roberto Peressin ventila l'ipotesi che il Petavio possa aver ispirato con la propria metàfrasi

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[1] Si veda sotto in questo fascicolo (pp. 274–276) la mia recensione di Roberto Peressin, *La versione greca dell'orazione "Pro Archia poeta" di Mikołaj Żórawski (1632). Contributi all'edizione e allo studio del testo*, Berlin 2020. Il presente articoletto è come un'appendice a questa recensione. Sono molto riconoscente a Livia Marcelli, bibliotecaria alla Vallicelliana, e al mio amico Tommaso Bórri per il loro prezioso aiuto.

[2] *Graece reddita. Translations into Ancient Greek in Early Modern Europe*. Questo saggio, scritto anni fa, è rimasto inedito, perché non ho ancora avuto l'occasione di consultare la bibliografia moderna. Intendo pubblicarlo, appena avrò avuto l'opportunità di visitare qualche biblioteca di ricerca.

[3] *Dionysii Petavii Aureliensis e Societate Iesu Epistolarum libri tres*, Parisiis 1652, pp. 421–423. Cfr. Peressin, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 72.

il traduttore polacco. Non ci crediamo[4], ma è interessante vedere che lo Zoravio era ancora interessato al tradurre in greco verso l'anno 1651[5] e che scrisse al grande gesuita francese in questa lingua piuttosto che in latino.

Leggendo lo studio di Roberto Peressin su Niccolò Zoravio, mi sono accorto che avrei dovuto segnalare anche una seconda lettera, che vidi alcuni anni fa a Roma, nella Biblioteca Vallicelliana. Infatti capisco ora che questa lettera non è mai stata menzionata nella bibliografia sullo Zoravio.

Sfortunatamente, è oramai troppo tardi perché questo documento possa essere incluso nel libro del Peressin. Per correggere il mio errore almeno in parte e colmare questa piccola lacuna della storia letteraria, ho deciso di stampare la lettera per intero.

Fu scritta a Varsavia il 15 marzo 1654, ed è indirizzata a Leone Allacci. Benché non abbia rapporto con l'attività del suo autore come traduttore, apporta

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[4] Avemmo anche noi la stessa idea leggendo per la prima volta la lettera del Petavio. Ora invece ci sembra che la cronologia renda quest'ipotesi impossibile. Verosimilmente lo Zoravio scrisse per la prima volta al gesuita francese dopo aver visto i suoi *Πάρεργα ἅττα· τοῦτ΄ἔστι τῶν τοῦ Κικέρωνος Παραδόξων, καὶ τῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ τινων ἑτέρων μετάφρασις*, stampati a Parigi nel 1649. È difficile immaginare che l'umanista polacco avesse letto in manoscritto queste opere, che comunque risalgono probabilmente al 1644, come appare dai versi sulla morte di Niccolò Borbonio il Giovane aggiunti alla fine dei *Πάρεργα*, versi, come scrive l'autore a p. 117, οὓς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν [...] ἐκπονεῖσθαι συνέβη, ἐν ᾧ τῶν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἡ μετάφρασις ἀπετίκτετο, cioè poco dopo la morte del Borbonio, avvenuta il 6 di agosto del 1644. La traduzione della *Pro Archia* invece fu cominciata il 2 giugno 1631 (cfr. il *thema caeli* inserito alla pagina 16) e pubblicata nel 1632. Del resto lo Zoravio si esercitava a tradurre Cicerone in greco almeno dall'anno 1620, data della traduzione perduta del *De officiis* (cfr. *Specimen catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Zaluscianae a Ioanne Daniele Andrea Janozki, canonico Scarbimiriensi eiusdemque bibliothecae praefecto exhibitum*, Dresdae 1752, p. 129: "CCCXCVII Marci Tullii Ciceronis De officiis libri tres a Nicolao Zorawski, Cracoviensi philosopho, ex Latino sermone in Graecum conversi. Anno MDCXX". Notiamo anche che questa versione probabilmente non sarà stata la prima per lo Zoravio, giacché è poco credibile che egli principiasse con un'opera così lunga come il *De officiis*).

[5] L'epistola greca del Petavio non è datata, ma, siccome fu inviata Οὐαρσοβίαν, Roberto Peressin osserva a ragione che fu verosimilmente scritta quando l'umanista polacco, essendo diventato medico personale di Maria Luisa Gonzaga, soggiornava a Varsavia presso i monarchi (sin dall'anno 1633). Si ricavano poi dalla lettera anche altri indizi cronologici, che ci consentono di precisarne la datazione. Come abbiamo detto, lo Zoravio scrisse all'erudito francese probabilmente dopo aver letto le traduzioni greche di Cicerone contenute nei suoi *Πάρεργα*, pubblicati alla fine del 1649 (il *privilegium regis* è datato 13 di settembre di quell'anno). Nella sua lettera greca, l'umanista polacco dava l'impressione di pensare che il Petavio intendesse recare in greco gli *opera omnia* di Cicerone. Questi gli rispose che tale non era mai stato il suo intento, ma che forse avrebbe dato fuori la traduzione del *De amicitia*, che era quasi finita. Si può dunque concludere che la lettera del Petavio fu scritta verso l'anno 1651, o più precisamente tra la fine del 1649 e la fine del 1652, data della pubblicazione delle *Epistole* (finite di stampare il 19 ottobre 1652, come si vede in calce al volume), poco prima che la versione greca del *De amicitia* fosse stampata (*Μάρκου Τουλλίου τοῦ Κικέρωνος Λαίλιος, ἢ περὶ φιλίας, Ἑλληνιστὶ μεταφρασθεὶς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ Πεταβίου, τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἑταιρείας Ἰησοῦ*, Parisiis 1653. Così si legge sul frontespizio, ma il tipografo scrive alla fine che "haec prima editio perfecta fuit die 14. Decembris 1652").

comunque qualche informazione sulla sua figura ancora poco nota, e merita d'esser conosciuta. Conferma quel che appare chiaro già nella lettera del Petavio: Niccolò Zoravio si seguitava a occupare di greco quando, più avanzato in età, viveva a Varsavia esercitando le professioni di medico e di astrologo; non solo s'interessava alle traduzioni in greco, ma anche alle opere greche rimaste inedite. Inoltre questo documento ci offre un esempio della prosa latina di questo letterato. Come si vede anche dalla sua traduzione della *Pro Archia*, il suo greco è goffo e scorretto. Anche nel breve passo in greco contenuto in questa lettera, si trova addirittura un solecismo grossolano: il verbo ἐρῶ (ἐράω) regge qui l'accusativo, come se si trattasse del rarissimo e omofono ἐρῶ (ἐράω, per ἐξερῶ, ἀπερῶ, cioè ἐμῶ)! Il passo è dunque molto infelice. Invece, a prescindere da qualche piccolo particolare, il latino dello Zoravio è piuttosto buono: si sente bene che ne aveva una padronanza molto maggiore rispetto al greco.

Il manoscritto della lettera si trova nel carteggio dell'Allacci conservato presso la Biblioteca Vallicelliana, a Roma (fascicolo 17 del ms. Allacci CLII, cc. 450–451). Sono due stesure, una intera che costituisce la carta 450, e un'altra incompiuta sulla carta 451. Quest'ultima carta finisce colle parole *Latine posse loqui*; inoltre, ci manca la formula di saluto εὖ πράττειν: essa è dunque una copia.

L'esistenza di copie del genere si può spiegare con vari disegni editoriali. Già l'Allacci stesso aveva avuto l'intenzione di pubblicare una scelta della sua corrispondenza, nella quale voleva includere il suo scambio di lettere collo Zoravio[6]. Sembra poi che l'ellenista Raffaele Vernazza, morto nel 1780, concepisse pure il progetto di pubblicare l'epistolario dell'Allacci. Infatti, nei fascicoli del carteggio del grande erudito si trovano molte trascrizioni di lettere di mano del Vernazza[7]. La nostra copia però non è di sua mano, come ho potuto costatare comparandola con un autografo. Fu forse scritta da qualche segretario, che non sapeva il greco: questo spiegherebbe l'omissione dei passi greci della lettera; qualcun altro avrebbe dovuto finire il lavoro aggiungendoli più tardi, ma la copia rimase incompiuta.

Talora ci sono più copie di una lettera, mentre manca l'originale. Qui invece, la carta 450 è una lettera autografa di Niccolò Zoravio. Si vede bene che la carta

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[6] Questa scelta di lettere doveva esser inclusa nel libro X delle *Miscellanee* dell'Allacci, sotto il titolo di *Illustrium virorum Epistolae ad Leonem Allatium & Allatii ad easdem rescriptae*. Solo i due primi libri delle *Miscellanee* vennero pubblicati, ma conosciamo bene il piano dell'intera opera grazie a una descrizione particolareggiata intitolata *Leonis Allatii Συμμικτῶν sive Opusculorum Graecorum, & Latinorum vetustiorum, ac recentiorum libri X* e pubblicata a Roma nel 1668. Alla pagina 24, appare nell'elenco dei corrispondenti dell'Allacci inclusi nel libro X il nome *Nicolaus Zoraccius* (*sic*!).

[7] V. Curzio Mazzi, *Tre epistolarii nella Vallicelliana di Roma*, Rivista delle biblioteche 18–19 (giugno–luglio 1889), pp. 103–112. Quest'articolo contiene un inventario della corrispondenza dell'Allacci conservata alla Vallicelliana. La lettera dello Zoravio è descritta alla pagina 110. Il progetto del Vernazza rimase senza effetto. Thomas Cerbu, professore associato presso l'università della Georgia, sta preparando da anni un'edizione della corrispondenza dell'Allacci per la collana "Studi e testi" della Vaticana. Speriamo che possa attuare questo difficile ma utile disegno.

è stata piegata per essere inviata. È anche chiaro che l'Allacci la lesse, giacché l'ha annotata, e si vede la fine di una parola scritta di sua mano (*-trioribus.*) nel margine sinistro della carta 450r. Inoltre, nell'indirizzo, dove l'autore aveva scritto *Romam*, c'è aggiunto da un'altra mano, in italiano, *Venetia*: un'aggiunta di questo genere si spiega bene se la lettera, durante il suo lungo viaggio da Varsavia, è passata per Venezia.

Per queste ragioni, nella nostra edizione non abbiamo tenuto nessun conto della carta 451. Aggiungiamo al testo le fotografie della lettera originale: c'è sembrato interessante di dare un piccolo esempio della scrittura di Niccolò Zoravio, in latino e in greco. Questo permette anche al lettore di osservare la punteggiatura dell'originale, che abbiamo leggermente modificata nella nostra trascrizione.

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Nicolaus Zoravius Serenissimi Regis Poloniae Medicus et Mathematicus
Doctissimo viro Leoni Allatio εὖ πράττειν

Frequenter, vir Clarissime, perveniunt ad manus meas Divini tui labores, quibus vertendo Graecos libros in sermonem Latinum atque eosdem publici iuris faciendo, de literatis, maxime vero Graeca amantibus optime mereri conaris. Perge ut caepisti, vir doctissime, neque a tuo laudabili proposito, quoad superi vitam concesserint, enervatus recede. Hac enim ratione, te tibi non modo nomen gloriosum apud posteros, sed etiam mercedem in caelis quam omnes expetimus comparaturum certo scito. Iam vero, cum habeam Catalogum librorum Graecorum qui in illustrioribus[8] Bibliothecis Italiae reperiuntur, cupio vehementer, atque maiorem in modum peto a te ut, quandoquidem volupe tibi est in eiusmodi pulvere gloriosissimo volutari, etiam hos quorum tibi inscriptiones mitto[9] digneris efficere Graece pariter ac Latine posse loqui. τουτὶ δὴ ἀξιέπαινον τὸ ἐπιχείρημα τὸ σὸν ἔσῃ μὲν ἅπασι τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις κεχαρισμένον, τὸ δὲ μάλιστα τοῖς τὰ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν ἐρῶσι [*sic*!] πεποιηκώς.

Vale. Varsaviae, urbe Poloniae, die 15 Martii Anno 1654.

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[8] Nel margine si legge ...*strioribus.*, scritto da una mano che pare essere quella dell'Allacci. Sembra ch'egli sentisse il bisogno di scrivere *illustrioribus* per chiarire la lettura di questa parola, la lettera essendo già un poco danneggiata in questo punto, quando la ricevette.

[9] Purtroppo, la carta contenente i titoli delle opere non si trova assieme alla lettera. È possibile che esista ancora in qualche altra parte del fondo Allacci, ma più probabilmente sarà andata persa.

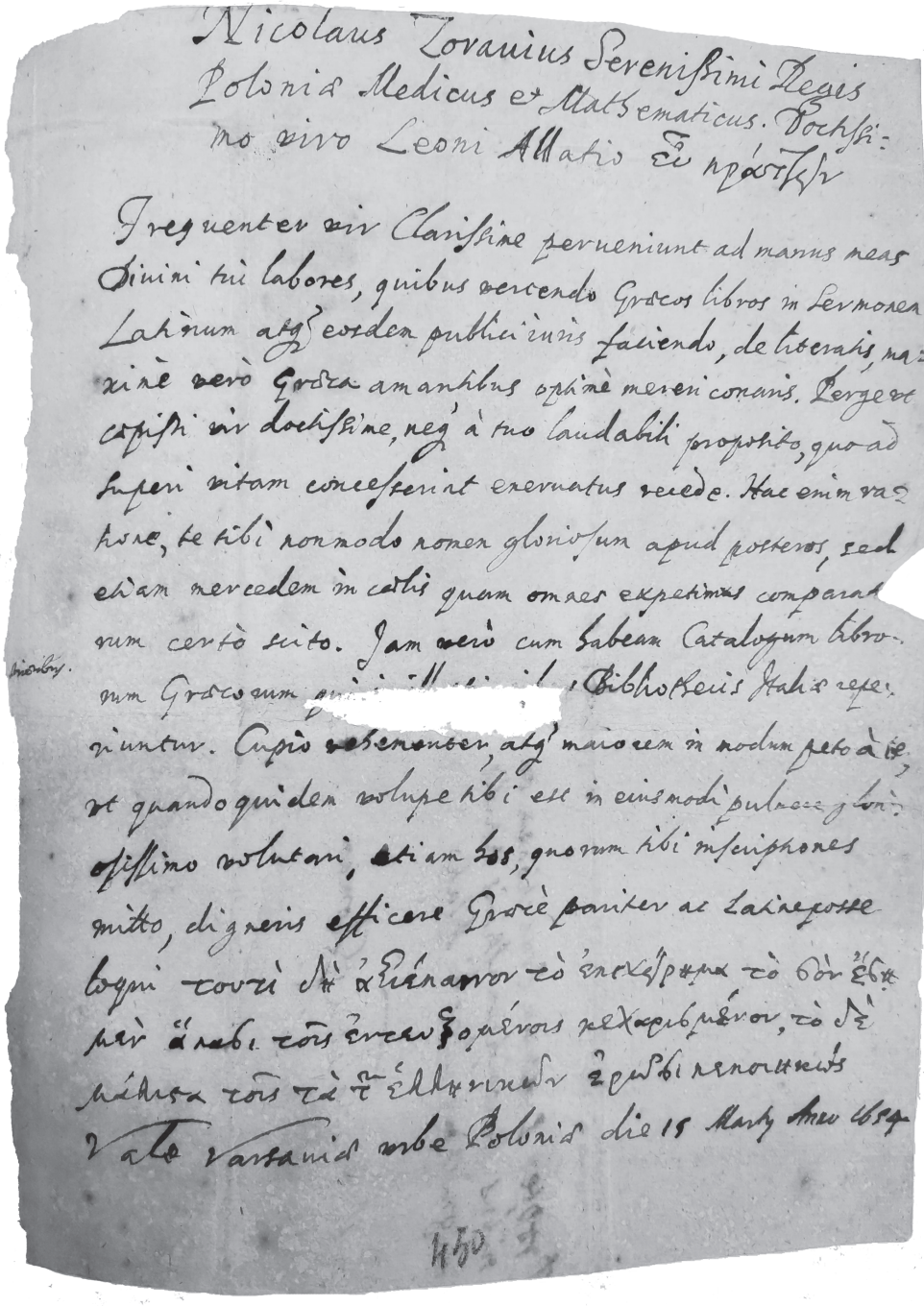

Fig. 1: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, ms. Allacci CLII, fasc. 17, c. 450r.

[Sul verso della carta, si trova l'indirizzo seguente:]

Propter summam eruditionem om-
nibus Honorificentissimis titulis
dignissimo Leoni Allatio

Romam [Un'altra mano ha aggiunto qui *Venetia*]

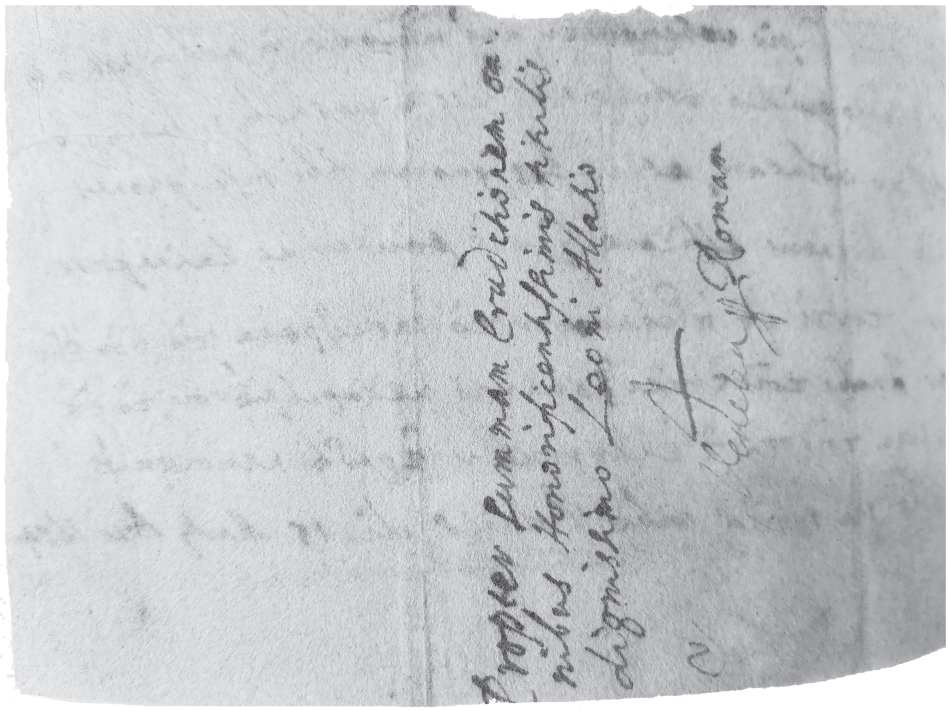

Fig. 2: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, ms. Allacci CLII, fasc. 17, c. 450v.

C E N S U R A E L I B R O R U M

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ANOTHER HANDBOOK OF PLATO'S PHILOSOPHY (AND MORE): A REVIEW PAPER[1]

Gerald A. Press, **Mateo Dusque (eds.),** ***The Bloomsbury Handbook of Plato*****,** 2nd edn., London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023, XXIX + 521 pp., ISBN 978-1-3502-2723-1, £130.00.

The second edition of a book providing an overview of the philosophy of one of the greatest philosophers – Plato – has been delivered to the reader. On the one hand, the work appears to be very voluminous (over 500 pages), but on the other hand, considering the subject matter – Plato's philosophy and its reception – and the contemporary state of research on it, the number of pages is not as impressive and even makes one wonder about the advisability of such an undertaking. As the editors themselves point out (p. 2), as many as 110 authors participated in the creation of this work, and they wrote 164 texts on various aspects related to Plato's philosophy. Simple arithmetic alone allows one to see that the individual texts cannot be long, and indeed they are not, with the editors justifying this by their desire to achieve a multifaceted (and dialectical – p. 7) and as complete a treatment of the subject as possible (p. 2). Arguably, such an approach is also dictated by the target group the publication is intended to reach, which is primarily students and those with a general interest in philosophy (p. 7)[2]. The work contains the word "Handbook" in its title, which already implies that its primary value is to inform about the subject in question, so it is also a kind of encyclopaedia, guide, or handbook on Plato's philosophy (p. 6)[3].

Because it is a very comprehensive work and presents so many themes, in this review I will not refer to everything contained in it but will only turn my attention to a few issues that may be controversial or questionable. The whole work is divided into five sections, the first of which primarily discusses the historical, literary, and philosophical context of Plato's work. The second presents the content of individual writings; the third presents the various features of Plato's dialogues; the fourth addresses the sundry issues dealt with in Plato's works; and the fifth considers the reception, interpretive strategies and influence of the philosophy of the founder of the Academy[4].

In the first section, my attention was primarily drawn to the chapter "Orality and Literacy" (written by Joanne B. Waugh, pp. 23–25). Five paragraphs introduce the reader to the problem of orality itself and, in the context of Plato's philosophy, point to an important study in the form of Havelock's monograph *Preface to Plato* (1963 [Polish translation: 2007]). Only the last two paragraphs indicate – and, unfortunately, somewhat superficially – that by paying attention to the issue of orality mentioned in the title, different interpretative results can be obtained, and only in relation to a few texts (e.g. *Phaedrus* 274 B–E; *Letters* II and VII) or issues (*technē*, *paideia*). This

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[1] I use the term "another" in the title because in the German-speaking area, there is a work: *Platon-Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung* (Horn, Müller, Söder 2009, [2]2017).

[2] I would therefore add to the abbreviations "MS[S]", used several times in the book (e.g., p. 49, n. 67), as those not specialised in ancient literature may not know it.

[3] In terms of the range of issues presented, it certainly stands out from other guides – see e.g., Kraut 1992; Benson 2006; Ebrey, Kraut 2022 – although the price is a much more truncated presentation of individual issues.

[4] For a detailed table of contents, see: https://www.bloomsbury.com/uk/bloomsbury-handbook-of-plato-9781350227231/ (accessed on 15.06.2023).

seems to make either the question of orality appear as something marginal regarding the interpretation of the *Corpus Platonicum*, or it still requires a great deal of research. With that said, the second possibility seems to me to have little research appeal, since when one turns to the findings of the leading scholars of this issue in the non-philosophical literature (e.g. Thomas 1992, cited by Waugh), there are generally a lot of sceptical themes, pointing out, for example, the enormous difficulty of separating (especially in Plato's time and later) the oral and literary orders, and thus that the two aspects of culture intermingle and should be considered together (Thomas 1992: 4)[5]. It is also worth bearing in mind the distinction between orality conceived as a kind of tradition (which is what we are dealing with in the case of the first Greek poets) and orality conceived as oral communication. It seems that, in the case of Plato's works, we are essentially dealing with the latter, for he is, after all, the author of dialogues, i.e. conversations between X and Y, where, on the one hand, X and Y are people present in the literary work, and on the other hand, at least in antiquity, when works were read aloud and perhaps even some of the dialogues were presented (Ryle 1966: 23 ff.), X_1, X_2... are the people in the dialogue, and Y_1, Y_2... the listeners, to whom the philosophical content is delivered precisely by means of orality. Of course, this can be considered a sham orality (Sandbach 1985: 492), and it is an open question to what extent this form of communication affects the understanding of the text of Plato.

As already mentioned, the second part presents Plato's individual dialogues, and they are arranged in alphabetical order. Undoubtedly, the need to present the content concisely poses a formidable challenge for the most extensive writings – the *Republic* and the *Laws*. Although the *Laws* are a larger work than the *Republic* (*R*. = 294 pages and *Lg*. = 345 pages in the Stephanus edition), their presentation in *The Bloomsbury Handbook*... is not only volumetrically opposite (*R*. about 7 pages and *Lg*. just over 2 pages), but also different in terms of the way they are covered. In the case of what is probably Plato's last dialogue, we learn little about its content (the exception being the last – the tenth – book of this work) and more about general methodological problems. In the case of the *Republic*, on the other hand, the author, Nickolas Pappas, has chosen to cover the issues arising in this work in a systematic way, and these are, in turn: (I) politics (pp. 117–118), (II) psychology and ethics (pp. 118–119), (III) benefits of justice (pp. 119–120, (IV) poetry and other arts (p. 120), (V) metaphysics (pp. 120–121), (VI) good (pp. 121–122). Arguably, this difference is due to the methodological pluralism advocated by the editors in the Introduction, but in the case of these two especially important (if not the most important) works, the *Laws* certainly deserves at least equal attention. Yet another difference in the discussion of the two works is that in the case of the *Laws* there is an indication of the possibility of consulting a collective bibliography (Saunders, Brisson 2000), whereas in the case of the *Republic* the bibliographical indications refer to individual issues rather than to the work as a whole. It may have been worthwhile to supplement the references with such holistic coverage, especially as several such items are included in the bibliography[6].

In this section of the handbook, one other small detail in the chapter on *The Hippias Major* (written by Jacques A. Duvoisin) caught my attention. After discussing the content and form of the text, it concludes by drawing attention to the question of its authenticity, which has been repeatedly questioned (e.g. by Heitsch 2011). Therefore, Duvoisin rightly notes that "the question of textual provenance should not be simply forgotten" (p. 83), but it seems to me that it would have been worthwhile to emphasise explicitly at this point that, even if the authenticity of this work is definitely not questioned, it can still be considered legitimate to doubt its authenticity and thus to

[5] It is worth noting, however, that studies attempting to point to oral aspects in Plato's works occasionally appear; see, for example, Verano 2018.

[6] See e.g., Annas 1981; Benardete 1989; Ferrari 2007; McPherran 2010. It is also worth mentioning the multi-volume Italian-language project edited by M. Vegetti (1998–2007).

include this dialogue in the group called *dubia* (it is mentioned in the chapter "Dubia and Spuria" written by John M. Dillon and revised by Mark Joyal, p. 66).

The third part of *The Bloomsbury Handbook* is devoted to the various literary features of Plato's dialogues. Here three texts caught my attention, and they are focused on humour, irony, and playfulness. In the first of these, David Roochnik points out that comedic elements are contained in Plato's texts, and he even considers the founder of the Academy an "inveterate punster" (p. 149). A good example, and one that Roochnik presents, is Aristophanes' speech in the *Symposium*, which on the one hand contains many elements that can even today bring a smile to the reader's face, but on the other hand, conveys a gloomy message (p. 150) that could even be called tragic (e.g. Strauss 2001: 134–135). Aristophanes is aware at the beginning of his speech that he is perceived and received primarily as a comic writer, but he wants his speech to be taken seriously (*Smp*. 189 A–B). However, it is worth bearing in mind a certain historically subjective element present in the case of recognising what evokes hilarity – not everything that made the reader from that time laugh will be funny today, although it can be assumed that Plato's literary mastery allowed him to construct the Model Reader (to use U. Eco's terminology [1979; Polish translation 1994: 72 ff.]) in such a way that the comic effect would have as universal a dimension as possible. The depiction of hilarity seen in the *Symposium* suggests considering seriousness and hilarity (*geloion*), or even ridicule (*katagelaston*), as opposites. But irony can also be considered as the opposite of seriousness, and irony is presented separately by Samuel Scolnicov. He distinguishes three types: "simple", "complex" and "open" (p. 151). The first of these has an ancient provenance, and the other two have a modern one. These types are found in the dialogues, but Scolnicov also points to an irony present on a meta-level, namely that which concerns the dialogue–reader relationship. In this case, the irony makes it possible to conjecture that not everything Plato wrote should be considered an expression of his views (p. 152) but may simply be some leavening of considerations to be carried out by the reader himself. The question arises, however, as to which of the three types of irony are we dealing with at this meta-level?

Finally, seriousness can be contrasted with playfulness, although, as Holger Thesleff points out, what the Greeks referred to as *paidia* can contain a certain amount of seriousness (p. 167). Thesleff rightly points to the multi-layered nature of playfulness in Plato's dialogues, which is primarily aimed at gaining distance from an issue and which is often seen in the confrontation of different positions (thus also linked to irony). Plato was fully aware of the benefits and dangers that this can bring to a person. In the first case, for example, it helps in the educational process to master various scientific disciplines. On the other hand, it can be a source of trouble if, for example, one judges works of art aesthetically, without considering the intellectual elements. It is worth pointing out here (which Thesleff fails to do) that the issue of pleasure is intricately linked to play, and it is in this connection that the positive and negative aspects of play can be clearly identified (Pacewicz 2016: 199 ff.). Additionally, Thesleff makes an excellent point about the playfulness present in the dialogue–reader relationship (pp. 168–169). In this case, the metaphors, figurations, and analogies used in the works may themselves be perceived as thought-play, or they may contain playful elements, the presence of which the reader should extract and consider how much they weigh on the interpretation of a particular way of expressing the author's beliefs.

The fourth part of the textbook contains as many as 74 (*sic*!) concepts, issues and questions present in Plato's dialogues. The individual elements are elaborated brilliantly, and I would only draw attention to two things. First, the chapter "Orphism" by Gabriele Cornelli (pp. 311–313) could have been moved to Part One, since, firstly, it is very difficult to reconstruct precisely the beliefs associated with Orphic religion, and secondly, the presence of these beliefs in the work of Plato can be considered marginal (although certainly, the Orphic context is worth taking into account when interpreting some passages). Secondly, Dorothea Frede points out in her chapter "Pleasure" that Plato's grasp of the said phenomenon changes. The author accepts the standard chronological division of the dialogues into three groups. Among the Socratic dialogues, she distinguishes the *Gorgias* in terms of its treatment of pleasure, and she considers the fundamental

critique of pleasure to be a consequence of the reflections pursued in this work. However, it seems that the critique presented in the *Gorgias* does not have such a complete dimension. It can be argued that the object of Socrates' rejection is thus that particular form of the concept of pleasure, which is an extremely subjective process of unlimited filling, but he does not make any statement about hedonism in general or about other possible forms of it. Considering Socrates' statements, it can be concluded that there are pleasures that can be valued positively – they are useful. Consequently, granting a higher value to the soul than to the body in an anthropological perspective, it seems appropriate to refer such pleasures primarily to the soul, but it cannot be completely excluded that some of them may involve the body. A hierarchisation is also considered at the spiritual level, where *phronēsis* plays a dominant role, subordinating emotionality (*epithymia*), by which the attitude called *sōphrosynē* is formed. But what does this subordination and ruling of the emotional sphere consist of? A reasonably clear answer can be given with regard to a pleasure conceived as a process whose source is sensory impressions. In this case, it is a matter of not allowing overflow, of not exceeding the right measure. If, for example, I develop a craving for something sweet and begin to consume sweets, my *phronēsis* determines the limit (one, two or more) – and it determines when the craving is satisfied. The process of such satisfaction is a pleasure that at some point reaches a limit (Pacewicz 2016: 103–104).

The concluding section of the handbook is devoted to the reception of Plato and has been divided by the editors into three parts: (A) reception in antiquity, (B) reception in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and (C) reception in the Modern and contemporary periods. Regarding (A), it is puzzling that there is a separate chapter devoted virtually only to Philo of Alexandria (although it is entitled "Jewish Platonism (Ancient)", pp. 374–377), and the issue of so-called Middle Platonism, which seems to be a key moment in understanding the transition from the Old Academy to Neoplatonism, was not covered at all[7]. In section (B), the presence of Platonic thought in various religious systems – Islam, Judaism and Christianity – is emphasised, and the revival of Platonism in Italy is presented extremely briefly. It is unclear, however, why this section includes a chapter on the Cambridge Platonists. On the one hand, historically speaking[8], this philosophical movement has its origins in the Renaissance – if one considers John Colet as one of the first representatives, but the author of this chapter (Sarah Hutton) herself historically situates this figure "in early modern England" (p. 391). Part (C) contains an excellent presentation of the full range of interpretations of Plato's work from Descartes to the present day. Attention may be drawn to as many as three chapters devoted to what Plato probably did not write down, i.e., the so-called *agrapha dogmata*, indicating that this problem has already become a permanent feature of the interpretation of his philosophy. In the first ("Plato's Unwritten Doctrines", pp. 416–418), Hayden W. Ausland first points to sources indicating the existence of a doctrine that appears to differ in content from what the dialogues contain, and then he presents possible approaches to the reconstruction of this doctrine by modern scholars. The main interpretive problem here is to determine the reliability

[7] Additionally, it is worth pointing out that a deeper understanding of the reception of Plato's philosophy in antiquity can be gained from the collective volume *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Plato in Antiquity* (Tarrant *et al*. 2017).

[8] The problem here, of course, is to set a time limit between eras. This can be done in a somewhat arbitrary way, for example, as is the case with the end of antiquity, by setting it at 395 (the division of the Roman Empire), 476 (the death of the last Western Roman emperor) or, in the case of philosophy, 529 (the closing of the Academy). In the case of the turn of the Renaissance/Modernity, the date could be 1517 (Luther's theses) or 1548 (the Council of Trent), but it is possible to extend the first of these eras as far as the 17th century and the philosophical and scientific publications of Bacon, Galileo or Campanella (Hankins 2007: XII–XVI). But the 17th century is also recognised precisely as the early modern era, at the origin of which the works of Bacon, Hobbes and Descartes appear (Rutherford 2006).

of Aristotle's testimony (as well as that of later ancient philosophers). Since one of the foundations supporting the consideration of the philosophical content attributed to Plato by Aristotle, among others, is that Plato did not entrust his findings to writing, the next issue is the question of recognising the possibility of considering the esotericism of Plato's philosophy ("Esotericism", pp. 418–420). Such a reading can be seen, according to Hayden W. Ausland, in scholars such as Paul Friedländer, Leo Strauss and, later, in the proponents of taking into account the aforementioned unwritten doctrine clustered around the Tübingen and Milan centres, with Friedländer's and Strauss' account of esotericism having a primarily existential and political dimension, while scholars such as Hans J. Krämer and Giovanni Reale primarily emphasised the metaphysical aspect. In contrast, it is the findings of the Tübingen researchers that are presented by Thomas A. Szlezák, who first presents the assumptions made (p. 420) and then sketches the results of the research (pp. 420–421). The only deficiency I feel with these three texts is that there is too little emphasis on the critique of this approach to Plato's philosophy. As I have already mentioned, it is important that unwritten doctrine should be considered in the presentation of Plato's philosophical findings, but not uncritically, as one may have legitimate doubts about this.

Despite the above minor doubts and polemical remarks, *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Plato* gives the person who wants to get acquainted with the most prominent issues and findings concerning Plato an excellent and recommendable introduction.

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Carmelo Salemme, ***Lucrezio e il problema della conoscenza. De rerum natura 4, 54–822*****,** Bari: Cacucci Editore, 2021 (Biblioteca della tradizione classica), 183 S., ISBN: 979-12-5965-062-7, €18.00.

Der vorliegende Kommentar zur Darstellung der epikureischen Erkenntnislehre im vierten Buch von Lukrezens Lehrgedicht *De rerum natura* aus der Feder Carmelo Salemmes (= S.) erhebt keinen Anspruch auf thematische Vollständigkeit, sondern bekennt sich bereits im Vorwort offen zu seinem textkritischen Schwerpunkt, der aber integral mit der Erörterung der grundlegenden philosophischen Fragestellungen verflochten werden soll[1]. Tatsächlich weist alleine das Verhältnis zwischen dem Umfang des eher schmalen Kommentars, der nach Abzug von Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Literaturverzeichnis keine hundert Druckseiten umfasst, und den besprochenen immerhin knapp achthundert Versen darauf hin, dass die Konzentration auf bestimmte Aspekte hier ein wesentliches Bearbeitungsprinzip dargestellt hat – eine grundsätzlich überaus löbliche Einstellung, die den Leser sogleich genau darüber informiert, was er von dem Buch, zu dem er gegriffen hat, erwarten darf und was nicht.

S. eröffnet seinen Kommentar mit einer Einleitung, die zunächst sehr knapp in die wesentlichen erkenntnistheoretischen Grundlagen des Epikureismus einführt (S. 9–10)[2], um so die Voraussetzung für die unmittelbar folgende ausführlichere Diskussion der mit der epikureischen Erkenntnislehre verbundenen Probleme zu klären: Ausgehend von dem berühmten Beispiel des aus der Ferne rund erscheinenden quadratischen Turmes vergleicht S. die Darstellung bei Lukrez mit derjenigen bei Sextus Empiricus und kommt zu dem Schluss, dass diese einander nicht grundsätzlich widersprechen[3]. Entscheidend ist dabei die aus der Darstellung bei Plutarch abgeleitete Einsicht, dass den Gegenstand der Erkenntnis nach Epikur nicht die Objekte, sondern die von diesen ausgesendeten *simulacra* darstellen[4], was nur scheinbar zu der bereits eingangs formulierten Aporie zurück führt[5], in Wahrheit aber zeigt, dass die Widerlegung des Skeptizismus mithilfe der *simulacra*-Theorie schlüssig möglich ist.

Dazu erinnert der zweite Teil der Einleitung an die Theorie der epikureischen Prolepse: Erst durch diese rationale Intervention werden die sinnlich wahrgenommenen Informationen erfassbar und können weiter verarbeitet werden. Dass der genaue Charakter dieser Prolepse aus den Quellen nicht eindeutig zu rekonstruieren ist, weist S. anhand der verschiedenen Zeugnisse (neben Epikur und Lukrez insbesondere Diogenes Laertius und Cicero) nach; in jedem Falle aber wird man S. darin zustimmen können, dass die grundsätzliche Strategie, die Sinneswahrnehmungen auf

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[1] „Le note non intendono costituire un commento ‚globale' al testo. Si limitano a essere, appunto, note di commento, di carattere essenzialmente filologico e filosofico" (S. 7).

[2] Vgl. v.a. die konzise und prägnante Zusammenfassung der „linee essenziali": „La sensazione è arazionale, priva di memoria (si esaurice cioè nel presente) ed è del tutto passiva: si limita a registrare fedelmente ciò che la produce" (S. 9).

[3] „Certo, Lucrezio si esprime in maniera alquanto vaga, e, se vogliamo, imprecisa quando afferma che la torre non appare proprio precisamente rotonda; ma nella sostanza dice la stessa cosa che dirà Sesto" (S. 13).

[4] „Da quel che Plutarco dice emerge che per gli epicurei oggetto di percezione è il simulacro, e non l'oggetto da cui il simulacro si diparte" (S. 14).

[5] „Resta un problema di assoluta rilevanza: come si può dire di avere una conoscenza autentica del reale se la percezione è confinata a registrare simulacri che possono andare soggetti a deformazione?" (S. 16).

Kosten des die Informationen verarbeitenden Verstandes von jeglichem Irrtum freizusprechen, in dem Moment, in dem klar wird, dass auf diese potenziell für Fehler anfällige Verstandesfunktionen zurückgegriffen werden muss, problematisch wird und zu Widersprüchen führt, die zwar den Vertretern der Theorie möglicherweise nicht zwingend als solche erscheinen, vom objektiven Betrachter aber kaum anders denn als solche gedeutet werden können[6].

Wie man es von einem ausgewiesenen Textkritiker wie S. erwarten darf, wird ein eigenständiger kritischer Text präsentiert; der Apparat freilich beschränkt sich auf die vom Herausgeber für relevant erachteten Probleme und präsentiert auch stets nur eine Auswahl an Lesarten und Konjekturen. Dabei behandelt S. die Aufnahme von Konjekturen in den Apparat als eine Art Ritterschlag: In seinem Kommentar erwähnt er in aller Regel weit zahlreichere Heilungsversuche für die korrupten Stellen, als er unter den Text setzt – in den Formulierungen des Kommentars wird allerdings auch nicht selten deutlich, wie wenig S. von den jeweiligen Konjekturen hält, wodurch sich dann in meisten Fällen auch schlüssig erklärt, weshalb diese keinen Eingang in den (infolgedessen recht sparsam ausfallenden) Apparat gefunden haben[7].

Dass es S. um die Herstellung eines kritischen und nicht um diejenige eines Lesetextes geht, zeigt auch die Übersetzung, die an den nicht ganz wenigen Stellen, an denen S. im Text *cruces* setzt, mit Auslassungszeichen operiert; dass S. keinerlei Versuche unternimmt, die im vierten Buch nach spätestens seit Lachmann und Brieger verbreiteter Meinung ebenfalls recht häufigen *lacunae* durch eigene Nachdichtungen zu füllen, versteht sich vor dem Hintergrund dieser Herangehensweise von selbst. Grundsätzlich bemüht sich die Übersetzung um größtmögliche sprachliche wie inhaltliche Klarheit: In Übereinstimmung mit den Schwerpunkten von Textherstellung und Kommentierung will S. dem Leser erkennbar beim detaillierten Verständnis der Textaussage behilflich sein, ohne dass dadurch das Niveau einer literarischen Übersetzung grundsätzlich verfehlt würde, wie dies in solchen Fällen ja bekanntlich bisweilen geschieht[8].

Der Kommentar teilt den präsentierten Text (Lucr. IV 54–822) zunächst in zwei Großkapitel unter den Titeln „Esistenza dei simulacri (vv. 54–215)“ (S. 77) und „Sensazione e pensiero (vv. 216–822)“ (S. 110) ein, die wiederum jeweils in fünf durch arabische Ziffern markierte Unterkapitel unterteilt werden, aus denen S. durch die Kombination dieser Ziffern mit Kleinbuchstaben erneut jeweils mehrere Abschnitte generiert (z.B. „5c. *Problemi relativi al pensiero (vv. 777–817)*“, S. 164). Dass jedes dieser Kapitel und jeder dieser Abschnitte durch teilweise recht ausführliche Zusammenfassungen der wichtigsten philosophischen Fragestellungen eingeleitet wird, macht den Kommentar äußerst leserfreundlich – gerade Benutzer mit eher geringen Vorkenntnissen werden von dieser Gestaltung des Kommentars gewiss erheblich profitieren[9].

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[6] „Per concludere su questo punto, non si può che certe ‚debolezze‘ della sua canonica devono avere indotto Epicuro a ricorrere a processi mentali di vario tipo nel tentativo di ‚porre rimedio‘ a quelle che a noi possono apparire autentiche contraddizioni“ (S. 23).

[7] Ein besonders krasses Beispiel ist Lucr. IV 791, wo der Apparat lediglich die lapidare Bemerkung „*cruces apposui*“ bietet (S. 74), während im Kommentar nicht weniger als sechs Konjekturen aufgeführt werden, die das korrupte *oculis* direkt ersetzen (zuzüglich dreier weiterer Emendationen im unmittelbaren Zusammenhang mit dem Problem; vgl. S. 166–167).

[8] Als Beispiel sei eine beinahe beliebig gewählte Stelle (Lucr. IV 655–657: „Namque figurarum ratio ut motusque reposcunt, / proinde foraminibus debent differre figurae, / et variare viae proinde ac textura coercet“) angeführt, die das – im Übrigen stets gleichbleibende – Niveau der von S. präsentierten Übersetzung illustrieren kann: „Infatti, come richiedono la diversità delle forme e i movimenti, così devono differenzarsi le forme dei pori e variare i canali secondo il tessuto che li contiene“ (S. 65).

[9] Vgl. etwa die Inhaltsangabe zu dem sehr kurzen letzten Abschnitt (Lucr. IV 818–822): „Può avvenire che nel sogno non ci giunga più un’immagine della stessa specie, e che a volti e età di un

Dieser systematischen Vorgehensweise zum Trotz ist der Aufbau des Kommentars durchaus flexibel und pragmatisch: Die inhaltlich-philosophisch und überlieferungstechnisch-textkritisch besonders interessanten und problematischen Stellen werden ausführlich besprochen; so werden dem Vers Lucr. IV 79 ganze sechs Seiten gewidmet (S. 81–87), wobei S. auch mit einer Art u.a. auch druckgraphisch vom restlichen Text abgesetzten Forschungsbericht aufwartet (S. 82); dasselbe Vorgehen wendet er etwa auch bei der Kommentierung von Lucr. IV 418–420 (S. 135–136), Lucr. IV 594 (S. 149–150) oder Lucr. IV 638 (S. 156) an. An anderen Stellen dagegen werden die Probleme mehrerer Verse gemeinsam in einem einzigen Textabschnitt behandelt (vgl. z.B. S. 163 zu Lucr. IV 750–761); zwar ist auch im Verlauf des Buches eine – bei Kommentaren ja nicht ganz seltene – Tendenz zur allmählichen Abnahme der Intensität der Kommentierung erkennbar, insgesamt aber wirkt der Aufbau des Kommentars äußerst durchdacht und auch in quantitativer Hinsicht wohlausgewogen.

Auch das ausführliche Literaturverzeichnis bestätigt noch einmal die Schwerpunktsetzung des vorliegenden Kommentars: Im Zentrum stehen textkritisch orientierte Untersuchungen, von denen nicht wenige naturgemäß auch aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert und damit der Hochzeit der Textkritik datieren, was ausdrücklich keinen Kritikpunkt darstellen soll. Auch die Beschränkung auf den Abgleich mit anderen Quellen für die epikureische Philosophie (Epikur selbst, Cicero, Diogenes Laertios) und die weitgehende Aussparung der für Lukrez ja ebenfalls stets aufschlussreichen poetischen Rezeption etwa bei Vergil oder Manilius lässt sich mit der spezifischen Ausrichtung des Kommentars rechtfertigen. Problematisch ist vor dem Hintergrund der Gepflogenheiten in der Textkritik lediglich, dass S. zuweilen lediglich spätere Auflagen einschlägiger Ausgaben und Kommentare – etwa von Creech (^{3}1754), Lachmann (^{2}1853 bzw. ^{2}1855), Lambinus (^{3}1570) oder Munro (^{4}1886) – anführt, sich aber in Apparat und Kommentar nicht selten auf Konjekturen bezieht, die sich bereits in der ersten Auflage der jeweiligen Werke finden (so beispielsweise bei der S. 167 nach Creech ^{3}1754 zitierten Konjektur *ollis* zu Lucr. IV 791, die bereits in der ersten Auflage von Creechs Ausgabe aus dem Jahr 1695 erscheint).

Abschließend sei der Blick auf einige der exegetischen und textkritischen Entscheidungen gerichtet, die S. in seinem Kommentar präsentiert, um insbesondere die Stärken des Buches hervorzuheben, die seine wenigen Schwächen bei weitem überwiegen, zumal dem ein oder anderen Leser in erster Linie unangenehm auffallen dürfte, dass S. bei der Textherstellung in aller Regel äußerst vorsichtig und zurückhaltend vorgeht und dem Leser die – in erster Linie überlieferungsbedingten – Aporien der Lukrezinterpretation nicht erspart, sondern deutlich vor Augen führt. Dass es sich hierbei nur im Einzelfall um eine wirkliche Schwäche handelt, versteht sich von selbst; bisweilen allerdings wirkt die von S. vertretene Position dann doch etwas überkritisch, wenn beispielsweise zu dem bereits mehrfach angesprochenen textkritischen Problem in Lucr. IV 791 im Apparat kein einziger der zahlreichen Heilungsversuche angeführt wird und ein besonders naheliegender (eben Creechs *ollis*) im Kommentar etwas oberflächlich als Vorschlag abgetan wird, „che semplifica ogni cosa, ma in maniera assolutamente banale“ (S. 167).

In Lucr. IV 128 stellt die Charakterisierung der Bewegung der *simulacra* als „nulla vi cassaque sensu“ – im unmittelbaren Anschluss an eine *lacuna* nach Lucr. IV 126 – ein interpretatorisches Problem dar, das S. zwar ungelöst lässt, aber so ausführlich diskutiert, dass jeder Leser sich ein Bild von dem machen kann, was jeweils für die beiden konkurrierenden Deutungen spricht: Entweder geht es Lukrez darum, die Diskussion zwischen Demokrit und Epikur aufzugreifen, da die *simulacra* nach dem ersteren ein eigenes Empfinden haben, was der letztere strikt verneint – mit „cassaque sensu“ stellte Lukrez sich damit eindeutig (und wenig überraschend) auf die Seite Epikurs. Da sich aber im (überlieferten) Text kein Hinweis auf eine konkrete polemische Auseinandersetzung mit Epikur findet, ist auch die alternative Deutung, dass die an dieser Stelle beschriebenen Traumbilder keine Sinneseindrücke hervorrufen können, möglich, zumal man mit

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certo tipo seguano volti e età differenti, o che si verifichino mutamenti di sesso. Ma di nulla siamo in grado di meravigliarci durante il sonno“ (S. 168).

Munro darauf hinweisen kann, dass dies auch auf die *simulacra* im allgemeinen Sinne zutrifft, wenn man berücksichtigt, dass diese nicht als einzelne Bilder, sondern nur als Bilderstrom wahrnehmbar sind. Die Diskussion zwischen den beiden Lagern wird von S. stringent und nachvollziehbar dargestellt (S. 94–95), sodass der Leser auf der Grundlage der angeführten Argumente nachvollziehen kann, weshalb eine (jeweils durchaus nachvollziehbare) Entscheidung für die eine oder andere Deutung dennoch stets mit einem gewissen Vorbehalt zu betrachten ist.

Die ausführliche Behandlung der Verse Lucr. IV 216–229 zeigt in erster Hinsicht, wie fruchtbringend verschiedene Ansätze zur Lösung eines individuellen Problems, aber auch verschiedene Probleme von S. in einen argumentativen Zusammenhang gebracht werden: Zunächst wird die Ansetzung einer *lacuna* nach Vers 216, die durch Lachmanns Konjektur *mitti* anstelle von *mira* überflüssig würde, dadurch stringent begründet, dass sich durch diese Konjektur ein zwar syntaktisch einwandfreier, inhaltlich aber nicht zum vorangegangenen Kontext passender Satz ergibt. Konsequenterweise lehnt S. Lachmanns Vorschlag ab und nennt in der Folge verschiedene Indizien für die postulierte *lacuna* (S. 112–113), bevor er zur Analyse der Verse Lucr. IV 218–229 übergeht, die er als von Lucr. VI 923–935 inspirierte Interpolation athetiert, um an ihrer Stelle erneut eine Lücke zu postulieren. Die ausführliche Diskussion der zusammenhängenden Probleme führt die Entscheidungen bei der Textherstellung – S. folgt für die *lacuna* nach Lucr. IV 216 Purmann, für die Athetese von Lucr. IV 218–229 Goebel und für die folgende Lücke Susemihl (vgl. dazu auch den Apparat S. 38) – zu einer kohärenten Darstellung der Probleme zusammen, die die eher pessimistische Einschätzung hinsichtlich der Möglichkeit einer Rekonstruktion der Stelle nachvollziehbar machen (S. 112–116).

Wo S. die betreffende Stelle als sicher geheilt ansieht, beschränkt er sich dagegen zuweilen auf Forschungsberichte, die abweichende Meinungen relativ lapidar anführen, den Leser so aber stets in die Lage versetzen, das Problem aus verschiedenen Blickwinkeln zu betrachten, sofern er bereit ist, die entsprechenden Forschungsbeiträge selbst einzusehen[10]; die von S. favorisierte eher konservative Herangehensweise zeigt sich dabei nicht selten auch in der verbalen Distanzierung von als zu beherzt angesehenen Eingriffen in den überlieferten Text[11]. Stärker als mit der umfangreichen Tätigkeit von Interpolatoren – neben der bereits erwähnten Athetese von Lucr. IV 218–229 vertritt der vorliegende Kommentar nur noch die von IV 102–103 (im Anschluss an Lachmann, vgl. S. 91) – rechnet S. mit der Lückenhaftigkeit der Überlieferung[12]; die in der Lukrezphilologie seit Marullus recht populären Versumstellungen dagegen sieht er meist kritisch[13].

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[10] Etwa zu Lucr. IV 351–352, wo die handschriftliche Überlieferung folgenden Text bietet: „ne simulacra / possint ullarum rerum contecta moveri“: „*Coniecta* è emendamento del Marullo (*contecta* OQ); *movere* per *moveri* è del Cippellarius (anche in Bentley, in Wakefield 1813, 434), indispensabile per il senso, dal momento che corrisponde a *lacessere* di v. 345. E dunque non bene Diels 1923 e Martin 1963[5] conservano *moveri*; *conlecta* in Gifanius 1565 (si ritrova in Orth 1960, 317). Cerca di difendere *contecta* Medaglia 2006, 130–131“ (S. 130).

[11] Vgl. beispielsweise die einführenden Worte zur Kommentierung von Lucr. IV 546 („Et revorat [reboat Q corr.] raucum retro cita barbara bombum“): „Con la correzione *reboat* non credo, con Ernout, sia necessario modificare alcunché nel verso. E comunque il testo tramandato appare di gran lunga più plausibile rispetto a alcune ingegnose quanto arbitrarie ‚ricostruzioni‘“ (S. 144).

[12] Vgl. etwa den Kommentar zu Lucr. IV 663 bzw. zur nach diesem Vers angesetzten *lacuna*: „Trovo veramente difficile che il verso abbia senso compiuto, con quel *quaeque* finale che troppe cose dovrebbe comprendere e che comunque male si salda a quanto segue (l’insorgenza della febbre); *quaeque*, insomma, resta di ardua interpretazione per il lettore. E pertanto accolgo la lacuna postulata da Brieger in Susemihl – Brieger 1874, 435–438“ (S. 156).

[13] „Solo per completezza aggiungo che Brieger 1902 (1894) colloca i vv. 143–167 dopo il v. 175; in Christ 1855, 21–22 si ha invece questa sequenza: 110–126, 168–173, 143–167. Mirabili diversivi della pur austera filologia dell’Ottocento“ (S. 101).

Insgesamt präsentiert S. sich (erneut) als Vertreter einer grundsätzlich eher konservativen Lukrezphilologie, wie sie etwa auch Marcus Deufert, der Herausgeber der jüngsten kritischen Lukrezausgabe im Rahmen der Bibliotheca Teubneriana, repräsentiert. Das in naher Zukunft zu erwartende Erscheinen der neuen OCT-Ausgabe von David Butterfield, die ausweislich der bisherigen Publikationen Butterfields wohl etwas stärker auf punktuelle Konjekturen setzen wird, dürfte daher vermutlich ein gewisses Korrektiv zu der von S. und Deufert vertretenen, ebenso löblichen wie notwendigen (gelegentlich aber auch zu allzu großer Zurückhaltung verleitenden) Neigung zu *cruces* und Auslassungssternchen darstellen – zusammen mit Kommentaren wie dem vorliegenden dürften die beiden Ausgaben Lukrez zu einem der in textkritischer Hinsicht am besten erforschten Autoren der klassischen Antike machen.

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WAS WILL UND ZU WELCHEM ENDE SCHREIBT MAN EIN CATULL-HANDBUCH? EIN REZENSIONSAUFSATZ

Ian du Quesnay, Tony Woodman (eds.), ***The Cambridge Companion to Catullus*****,** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021 (Cambridge Companions to Literature and Classics), XI, 404 S., ISBN 978-1-107-19356-7, £79.00 (hb.) / 978-1-316-64471-3, £25.99 (pb.).

Wenn das bisherige Fehlen eines Bandes zu Catull in der Reihe der „Cambridge Companions to Literature and Classics" bereits im Vorwort als eine nicht recht verständliche Lücke bezeichnet wird (S. XI), ist diese Einschätzung aus Sicht der Altphilologie gewiss ebenso nachvollziehbar wie die (objektiv sicher dennoch etwas übertriebene) Charakterisierung des Gegenstands der vorliegenden Publikation als „one of the world's most famous and best loved poets" (ebd.). Dennoch muss mit einem der Beiträger (Dániel Kiss) festgehalten werden, dass der im Vorwort beschworenen „scholarly popularity of Catullus" (ebd.) zum Trotz erhebliche Forschungsdesiderate bestehen: „We clearly need a new edition of Catullus [...]. When it comes to commentaries on Catullus, it is even harder to be completely satisfied with what we have" (S. 314–315); der Catull-Kommentar für die „Cambrige Greek and Latin Classics", den eine andere Beiträgerin (Monica R. Gale) derzeit vorbereitet und von dem sich gewiss nicht nur Kiss eine weitreichende Schließung dieser zweiten Lücke erhofft (vgl. S. 316), könnte daher zusammen mit dem vorliegenden Handbuch einen wichtigen Schritt der Bestandsaufnahme und einen Ausgangspunkt für eine neue Phase der Catull-Forschung darstellen.

Das Handbuch ist in vierzehn Kapitel unterteilt, die hier in sechs Kategorien zusammengefasst werden sollen: Cynthia Damon, Tony Woodman und Richard F. Thomas untersuchen im weitesten Sinne die Entstehung der *carmina Catulli*, K. Sara Myers und Bruce Gibson die inhaltliche Schwerpunktsetzung, Anna Chahoud, David Butterfield und Ian du Quesnay die Kompositionsprinzipien der Gedichte und ihrer Sammlung, Monica R. Gale und Carole Newlands die antike Rezeption, S.P. Oakley und Dániel Kiss die handschriftliche und wissenschaftliche Überlieferung des Textes, Alex Wong und Stephen Harrison die moderne Rezeption. Die Liste der Beiträger (die nur geringe Überschneidungen mit derjenigen des 2012 von denselben Herausgebern veröffentlichen Sammelbandes *Catullus. Poems, Books, Readers* aufweist), darf die Apostrophierung als „distiguished contributors" (Klappentext) bzw. als „leading scholars" (S. XI) durchaus für sich beanspruchen und die selbstbewusste Erwartung der Herausgeber, „that the volume, while providing the ‚authoritative guide' which readers of a Cambridge Companion are entitled to expect, will also make a genuine contribution to Catullan scholarship and will act as a stimulant to further research" (ebd.), ist gewiss ebenso berechtigt wie vor dem Hintergrund der bereits skizzierten Forschungslage notwendig.

Der Entstehungskontext der Gedichte

Wenn die Einleitung der Herausgeber zunächst noch einmal daran erinnert, dass über die Biographie Catulls kaum etwas Konkretes bekannt ist (S. 1–3), ist dies nicht nur eine Abkehr von den teils äußerst phantasievollen Biographien, die insbesondere das 19. und 20. Jahrhundert aus den Gedichten abgeleitet haben, sondern auch der konstruktive Versuch, hier neue Wege zu beschreiten. So verortet Cynthia Damon Catull im ersten Beitrag des Bandes dadurch in seiner Zeit, dass sie die räumlichen Dimensionen der Welt ausmisst, in der sich der historische Dichter bewegt hat – von der italischen Heimat über die weite Welt der noch neuen Provinzen bis hin zum Lebensgefühl der Metropole Rom, die sich ihrer Bedeutung immer bewusster wird. Bei der Bestimmung des spannungsvollen Verhältnisses zwischen der italischen und römischen Identität Catulls bleibt Damon allerdings sehr vage – viel mehr als den Nachweis, dass der Dichter sich

dieser Spannung bis zu einem gewissen (allerdings auch noch genauer zu analysierenden) Grad bewusst gewesen ist, führt sie nicht (S. 14). Das Bild der Provinz in der Dichtung Catulls dagegen wird zu Recht in zwei Teile zerlegt, die einander als komplementäre Zugänge gegenseitig beleuchten können: Während die Auseinandersetzung mit der Struktur des Imperiums beim Dichter immer wieder eine große Desillusionierung auslöst (S. 18–19), ist die Inspiration, die von der Vielfalt der exotischen Räume ausgeht, bedeutend: „The poems [...] show the world as a literary, cultural, historical and natural phenomenon, not as a Roman one, a world more fully experienced in the imagination than in the flesh and one that Catullus celebrates for its multiplicity rather than its magnitude" (S. 21). Wenn Damon ausgehend von Catull. 68, 33–35 auch den Gegensatz zwischen der italischen Heimat und der römischen Lebenswelt auf die Formel „Verona [...] provide[s] a haven from grief and pain, but for poetry the *poeta doctus* needs Rome" bringt (S. 23), bleibt sie allerdings erneut eine stringente Begründung dieser Behauptung und damit das schuldig, was man von ihrem Beitrag eigentlich erwarten würde – ihre kommentierte Materialsammlung stellt gewiss ein maximales „stimulant to further research" dar, bleibt aber als „a genuine contribution to Catullan scholarship" in den präsentierten Ergebnissen zu vage.

Von allgemeinen soziohistorischen Kontexten wendet sich das zweite Kapitel aus der Feder Tony Woodmans dem konkreten literarischen Umfeld Catulls und damit – insbesondere, aber nicht ausschließlich – dem Kreis der neoterischen Dichter zu, denen die Überlieferung bekanntlich noch weit übler mitgespielt hat als dem zwar an vielen Stellen korrupt, aber wahrscheinlich doch weitgehend vollständig überlieferten Catull. Woodman beginnt mit Calvus, referiert dann das Bild, das Cicero von den *poetae novi* zeichnet, streift dann Valerius Cato und Furius Bibaculus, um sich in einiger Länge Cinna zuzuwenden, bevor auf einen Vergleich mit dem einzigen ebenfalls vollständig überlieferten zeitgenössischen Dichter Lukrez Bemerkungen zum verspotteten Redner Sestius und zu Laevius folgen. Anders als der wesentlich übersichtlicher strukturierte Ansatz Damons bietet Woodman eher eine Fundgrube für allerlei aufschlussreiche Beobachtungen zu Catulls literarischem Umfeld, die sich stets ihrer Zufälligkeit bzw. der extremen Abhängigkeit von einer äußerst fragmentarischen Überlieferung bewusst bleiben und so vermutlich auch bewusst auf den Versuch einer zu starren Systematisierung verzichten. Gerade Passagen wie der äußerst aufschlussreiche Vergleich zwischen Cinna *frg*. 13H und Catull. 65 (S. 35–36) und Woodmans Reserviertheit gegenüber den nicht weniger auffälligen Parallelen zwischen Catull. 14b und 26 auf der einen sowie Furius Bibaculus *frg*. 84 und 85H auf der anderen Seite (S. 33–34) zeigen dabei, wie wichtig neben einer neuen Edition und einem neuen Kommentar auch eine neue Prosopographie zu Catull wäre, die das (auch im vorliegenden Handbuch) viel gescholtene und nach beinahe sieben Jahrzehnten wohl auch tatsächlich überholte Standardwerk von Neudling (1955) ersetzen könnte: Dass die Ausgaben der fragmentarisch überlieferten zeitgenössischen Dichter wie diejenigen von Courtney (1993, ²2003) oder Hollis (2007) diese Lücke nur sehr notdürftig zu schließen vermögen, zeigt gerade ein so gut informierter, grundsätzlich nicht zu übertriebener Vorsicht neigender und dennoch an vielen Stellen zu zurückhaltender Aufsatz wie der hier besprochene in aller Deutlichkeit.

Besser erforscht, aber grundsätzlich vom selben Problem betroffen ist die Auseinandersetzung Catulls mit griechischen Vorbildern, der sich Richard F. Thomas im folgenden Beitrag widmet. Hierzu werden zunächst Catull. 65 und 66 mit der kallimacheischen *Locke der Berenike*, Catull. 51 mit Sappho 31 und Catull. 70 mit dem erneut kallimacheischen Epigramm *AP* V 6 verglichen, um den Übergang von einer in der Nachfolge von Ciceros *Aratea* verorteten Übersetzung hin zu einer spezifischen Nach- und Neuschöpfung zu konstruieren, als deren Charakteristikum Thomas die ämulative Straffung und Belebung sieht (56; 58); beim berühmten Vergleich mit der vom Pflug gefällten Blume wird die Vermittlerrolle Catulls zwischen Sappho und der Wiederaufnahme des Motivs im 9. und 11. Buch der *Aeneis* ebenso detailliert wie plastisch dargestellt (S. 61–62). Die Bedeutung Meleagers wird insbesondere im Falle von Catull. 2 und 3 auch für die Frage nach der Plausibilität einer metaphorischen Deutung des *passer* (als Phallus) fruchtbar gemacht (S. 63–64), bevor Thomas sich zwei Beispielen zuwendet, zu deren intertextueller Analyse seine eigenen Forschungen maßgeblich beigetragen haben (worauf er durch das Zitieren der Zustimmung von

Fowler und Woodman zu seiner eigenen Position mit kindlichem – um nicht zu sagen: etwas kindischem – Stolz selbst hinweist: S. 65, Anm. 56, vgl. auch S. 66). Dass Catull. 8 der angeführten Passage aus Menanders *Samia* den entscheidenden Anstoß verdankt, wird gleichwohl selbst – oder gerade? – in der handbuchgerechten Kurzversion überzeugend dargelegt; auch die intertextuellen Beziehungen zwischen den Eingangsversen von Catull. 64, der *Medea* des Euripides, der *Medea exul* des Ennius und der *Argonautica* des Apollonios von Rhodos (S. 66–69) sind ausgesprochen aufschlussreich und anregend, sodass Innovation und (methodische) Systematik hier der überlieferungsbedingten Notwendigkeit einer Beschränkung auf instruktive Beispiele zum Trotz in gelungener Form zusammengeführt werden.

Inhaltliche Schwerpunkte

Dass ein Dichter, dessen Werk in erster Linie mit der Adressatin Lesbia verbunden ist, die Beziehungen und Hierarchien zwischen den Geschlechtern literarisch reflektiert und verhandelt, ist evident; den Gegenstand der sich im 21. Jahrhundert daraus ergebenden Debatte um die (Re-)Konstruktion einer in der späten Republik brüchig gewordenen und in ihrer Bedeutung nicht selten zum indifferenten Schlagwort herabgestuften Männlichkeit in Philosophie, Rhetorik, Geschichtsschreibung und Dichtung fasst K. Sara Myers folgendermaßen zusammen: „The charge of effeminacy (failed masculinity) entailed political, social and moral weakness and loss of self-control“ (S. 71); die dominanten Fragen der Catull-Forschung richten sich dabei an Catulls „identification with female figures [...], sexual invective against men and women [...], capitulation to erotic passion“ (S. 73). Wie weit die Forschung beim Postulieren einer Identifikation des Dichters mit weiblichen Figuren bisweilen über das Ziel hinausgeschossen ist, belegt Myers besonders eindrücklich durch das Referat der zentralen Forschungsmeinungen zu Catull. 51, dessen Text und insbesondere dessen Unterschiede zum Vorbild (Sappho 31) gerade in der Perspektive den Leser bald daran erinnern müssten, „that the poem has nothing to do with female subjectivity“ (S. 75); auch der Vergleich der eigenen Liebe mit der vom Pflug gefällten Blume in Catull. 11, 21–24 wird von Myers in seiner Bedeutung für eine feministische Deutung deutlich relativiert: „While the cut flower seems to represent the vulnerability of Catullus' love and perhaps also his marginality, thus impugning his masculinity, his threats against his *puella* earlier in the poem assert the masculine power of his poetry“ (S. 79), und dasselbe gilt für ihre Kontextualisierung der radikalen Überschreitung der Geschlechtergrenze durch Attis (S. 83). Die wichtigste Erkenntnis aus der zuweilen etwas kursorischen, aber äußerst aufschlussreiches Material zusammentragenden Untersuchung der Invektiven, die an Figuren letztlich dieselben (von der neoterischen Ästhetik diktierten) Maßstäbe anlegen wie an Gedichte, lautet folglich auch mit einer gewissen logischen Konsequenz: „In Catullus poetry always comes out on top“ (S. 87).

Bereits zu Beginn des fünften, von Bruce Gibson verfassten Kapitels wird die Integration verschiedener Themenkomplexe innerhalb eines Gedichts zum Markenzeichen Catulls erklärt und als Beispiel Catull. 37 angeführt (S. 89–91), was Gibson freilich nicht daran hindert, für seinen Aufsatz einen vergleichsweise konventionellen Aufbau zu wählen und das Motiv der Liebe u.a. an den relativ eingehend gedeuteten Gedichten Catull. 8, 85 und 86 zu entfalten. Etwas stärker thematisch orientiert ist das folgende Unterkapitel zur Rolle der Freundschaft, wobei die Analyse von Catull. 35 aufgrund der Integration der Motive von Freundschaft, Liebe und Dichtung als „a good example of how Catullus is able to combine different kinds of material in the same poem“ bezeichnet wird (S. 99); überraschend ist die Anführung von Catull. 49 in diesem Zusammenhang, zumal die Analyse des berühmten Cicero-Gedichts äußerst vage bleibt und sich insbesondere zur Ironiefrage sehr zurückhaltend äußert („may verge on the ironic“, S. 100; vgl. insgesamt S. 100–101). Die Auseinandersetzung mit mythologischen Stoffen wird an Catull. 64 veranschaulicht, die Frage nach dem Charakter einzelner Texte oder Passagen als Gelegenheitsgedichte u.a. an den *passer*-Gedichten, dem Lobpreis von Cinnas *Zmyrna* und den Epithalamien, der Komplex von „Enmity and Moralising“ an den Vorwürfen, die etwa in Catull. 58 oder 30 gegenüber untreuen Geliebten und Freunden erhoben werden (wobei der Rufus- und Gellius-Zyklus in ihrer Bedeutung

hervorgehoben werden, ohne dass es zu einem mehr als oberflächlichen Vergleich mit dem ebenfalls angeführten Mamurra-Zyklus käme; vgl. S. 108–110 bzw. 111–112), bevor Gibson letztlich aus anderer Perspektive zur selben Schlussfolgerung gelangt wie Myers, wenn er als integratives Moment der Dichtung Catulls deren metapoetischen Charakter und die bewusste Orientierung an den Idealen von *sal* und *lepos* definiert (S. 113–114).

Kompositionsprinzipien

Der inhaltlichen Vielfalt der Gedichte entspricht bekanntlich ihre sprachliche Bandbreite, die Anna Chahoud in ihrem Beitrag untersucht; zunächst unterteilt Chahoud die polymetrischen Gedichte im Anschluss an die Forschungen Jocelyns insofern, als in den Hendekasyllaben die Positionierung besonders langer Wörter, umgangssprachlicher Wendungen oder von Neologismen am Versende, in den jambischen Versmaßen dagegen die Verwendung der charakteristischen Diminutive (und diesen klanglich verwandter Wörter) eine entscheidende Rolle spielten (S. 117–118), während den *carmina maiora* ein wichtiger Platz in der Entwicklung der epischen Sprache angewiesen wird (S. 118–119) und die elegischen Distichen als sprachlich am wenigsten innovativer Teil des Gesamtwerks eingestuft werden (S. 120). Interessant ist insbesondere das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen den bei Catull so häufigen vulgären und obszönen Wörtern und der Sprache der Komödie, deren Adaption Chahoud zu Recht als literarhistorisch gesehen vielleicht wichtigste Innovation Catulls bezeichnet: „The path is paved for the *seruitium amoris* of Latin love elegy" (S. 125), während die stilistische Raffinesse des Dichters am Beispiel des Hyperbatons veranschaulicht wird (S. 126–127). Archaismen und die Wortbildung (insbesondere mehrsilbiger Wörter wie der Abstrakta auf *-tio*, der Berufsbezeichnungen auf *-arius* oder der Diminutive) stellen weitere exemplarische Untersuchungsgegenstände des Kapitels dar, bevor Chahoud die persönliche Anrede als besonderes Markenzeichen Catulls in den Vordergrund rückt und diese These durch eindrückliches Zahlenmaterial untermauert (vgl. insbesondere S. 133 und 137). Mit einem instruktiven Vergleich zwischen Catull und Lucilius, denen die Erschaffung eines jeweils unverwechselbaren persönlichen Stils gelungen sei, beendet Chahoud ihre Ausführungen, die eindrücklich nachweisen, wie bedeutsam die sprachliche und stilistische Ebene für eine angemessene Interpretation der Gedichte gerade Catulls ist.

David Butterfield eröffnet sein Kapitel zu Catulls Metrik ebenfalls mit einer Erinnerung daran, in welch verschiedener Hinsicht Catull – wenn auch gewiss teilweise aufgrund der ihm günstigen Überlieferungslage – als Pionier der römischen Dichtung gelten darf: „Among the many accolades that critics bestow on Catullus, one is often absent: metrical revolutionary. This is strange, for we know of no other Roman poet who combined so many poetic forms across so many genres for so many purposes" (S. 143). Dabei bieten die polymetrischen Gedichte naturgemäß die interessanteste Materie: Butterfield weist auf die Vielfalt an Metren (S. 144), die Prominenz des Hendekasyllabus (S. 145) und die Möglichkeit einer Datierung der in diesem Metrum verfassten Gedichte durch die Varianz in der Behandlung der äolischen Basis hin, wobei er die bahnbrechenden Ergebnisse Skutschs (1969) durch statistisches Material untermauert und weiterentwickelt (S. 144–147). Dass sich das jambische Versmaß bereits in der hellenistischen Dichtung zum einen metrisch verändert und zum anderen aus seiner exklusiven Verwendung für aggressive Spottdichtung herausgelöst wird, stellt eine Entwicklung dar, an der Catull intensiv partizipiert, was Butterfield an einschlägigen Beispielen darlegt; die lyrischen Versmaße werden abschließend als bewusste Wahl für die jeweilige Thematik wahrscheinlich gemacht, nicht ohne dass neben den Chancen auch auf die Grenzen dieser Interpretation hingewiesen würde (vgl. beispielsweise die folgende vorsichtige Formulierung zu Catull. 17: „Catullus presumably deployed the metre to give the poem inescapably sexual undertones", S. 152). Das Hauptaugenmerk innerhalb der *carmina maiora* liegt auf Catull. 63 („There can be no question that this is the most consummate example of ‚neoteric' artistry surviving in Latin poetry", S. 154); hier macht Butterfield eindrucksvoll deutlich, wie Catull die Möglichkeiten der metrischen Varianz für die Untermalung der jeweiligen Stimmung des Protagonisten Attis fruchtbar macht (S. 157–158). Die Behandlung des

elegischen Distichons durch Catull wird in der Folge anhand eindrucksvollen Zahlenmaterials insbesondere mit derjenigen durch die augusteischen Vertreter der Liebeselegie verglichen; zumal die Verwendung der Elision aber erfährt auch aufschlussreiche Detailinterpretationen (etwa zu Catull. 68, 89–90; 73, 6; 91, 1–2 oder 36, 12–15: S. 163–164), bevor Butterfield an eine in mehrfacher Hinsicht interessante Bemerkung zum letzten Vers des catullischen Corpus ergänzt, in der die Unterdrückung des auslautenden *-s* (eigentlich ein Kennzeichen der vorneoterischen Dichtung in der Tradition des Ennius) realisiert ist (*dabis supplicium* – eine Anomalie, die verschiedene interessante Erklärungsansätze hervorgebracht hat), folgende Zusammenfassung anschließt: „Catullus [...] was also a consummate master of metrical innovation, able to repurpose and manipulate a remarkable array of verse-forms [...] in order to channel his thoughts in novel and arresting ways" (S. 165).

Im mit weitem Abstand längsten Beitrag des Handbuchs interpretiert Ian du Quesnay die überlieferten Gedichte Catulls als eine Sammlung von vierzehn *libelli*, die der Dichter in dieser Form herausgegeben und möglicherweise verschiedenen Freunden gewidmet habe: 2–14 (an Calvus), 14b–26 (an Quintilius Varus), 1+27–48 (an Cornelius Nepos), 49–60 (an Calvus), 61 (an Manlius Torquatus), 62, 63 (an Manlius Torquatus), 64, 65–66 (an Hortensius Hortalus), 67 (an die Veroneser Prominenz), 68a (an Manlius), 68b (an Allius), 116+69–92, 93–115 (vgl. insbesondere S. 172–178 und 217, wo du Quesnay seine Überlegungen mit Fragezeichen und relativierenden Formulierungen wie „tentatively" versieht). Bereits die einführenden Überlegungen du Quesnays machen die Problematik des Ansatzes deutlich: Die sämtlichen angeführten Punkte – die Bezeugung nicht im *liber Catulli* enthaltener Gedichte durch Terentianus Maurus, die Verwendung von *libellus* in Catull. 1 sowie von *liber* bei Gellius, der etwa durch Plinius oder Caesius Bassus bezeugte Titel *Passer* für eine Sammlung von Catull-Gedichten, die Spuren von Rezitations- und Publikationskontexten in Catulls Gedichten sowie historischen Kontexten und Parallelen zu Selbstzeugnissen Martials (S. 168–171) – sind sämtlich ebenso plausibel wie spekulativ. Der eigentliche Nachweis der These beginnt mit den *carmina maiora*; hier bemüht sich du Quesnay in erster Linie um Publikationskontexte, die sich im Falle von Catull. 61 aus der Hochzeit des Manlius Torquatus ergeben (S. 172), während für Catull. 62 die vergleichbare Länge von Horazens *Carmen Saeculare* bemüht wird (S. 173); die Verortung des Attis-Gedichts (Catull. 63) im erweiterten Festprogramm der Megalesia führt dann wieder auf den Quindecimvir Manlius Torquatus zurück. Wenig strittig dürfte sein, dass Catull. 64 zur separaten Veröffentlichung bestimmt war und auch der Vergleich mit Cinnas *Zmyrna* und der *Io* des Calvus ist naheliegend (S. 174); in Catull. 65 wird mit Hortensius Hortalus erneut ein Adressat genannt, dem du Quesnay damit lediglich noch die *Coma Berenices* (Catull. 66), nicht aber die weiteren Gedichte in Distichen gewidmet sieht (S. 175), während er etwa für Catull. 67 mutmaßt, das Gedicht „may be intended for the entertainment of local dignitaries at a local *conuiuium*" (S. 176) – hier bewegt sich du Quesnay bei seiner Rekonstruktion eines Kontextes aus dem Text heraus allerdings auf mindestens ebenso dünnem Eis wie bei der Zuschreibung auch von Catull. 68a an Manlius Torquatus, dessen Name sich zwar möglicherweise hinter der korrupten Überlieferung verbirgt, das Gedicht aber vom an einen unbestimmten Angehörigen der allerdings inschriftlich gut bezeugten *gens Allia* gerichteten 68b trennt.

In Catull. 2–14 sieht du Quesnay die Grundzüge des Lesbia-Zyklus und die Konstitution eines Freundeskreises realisiert, in Catull. 14b–26 das Verhältnis zu Furius, Aurelius und Iuventius umrissen, in Catull. 27–48 eine durch Catull. 1 an Cornelius Nepos gerichtete Sammlung von Protestgedichten gegen die römischen *mores*, für die Nepos als Adressat aufgrund seines kulturellen Relativismus, wie er sich etwa in der *praefatio* oder den Eingangspassagen zu den Biographien des Alkibiades oder Epaminondas zeige, besonders prädestiniert gewesen sei (S. 194). Weit weniger Verbindendes kann du Quesnay für Catull. 49–60 anführen; außer dem Hinweis, dass sich die erste Hälfte der Gedichte in erster Linie mit Calvus befasse (S. 195), schweigt des Sängers Höflichkeit. Auch die Unterteilung der Epigramme in zwei Hälften ist nicht unproblematisch: „The first group (69–92, possibly prefaced by 116) consists of 25 (?26) epigrams almost exclusively concerned with Lesbia and attacks on Catullus' rivals for her favours. The second group (93–115) consists of 23 (or 24, if Poem 95 represents two poems), with only two poems (107 and 109) directly

concerned with Lesbia and one (104) with a potential rival“ (S. 208). Die Überzeugungskraft, die diese Überlegungen entfalten können, hängt vermutlich stark vom Naturell des Lesers ab: Wer sich lieber auf Positionen zurückzieht, die man hieb- und stichfest beweisen kann, und jede andere Mutmaßung aus dem wissenschaftlichen Diskurs hinaus ins Reich der Phantasie verbannt sehen möchte, wird DU QUESNAYS Theorie vermutlich nicht viel abgewinnen können; wer dagegen bereit ist, eine gewisse Unsicherheit hinsichtlich der Grundlagen einer zumindest für das Verständnis des Gesamtwerks gewiss hilfreichen Konstruktion in Kauf zu nehmen, kann mit der präsentierten Gliederung vermutlich durchaus gewinnbringend arbeiten. Für das Handbuch hat der Beitrag DU QUESNAYS jedenfalls den unbestreitbaren Vorteil, dass sich sein Kapitel auch als Gesamtkommentar *en miniature* lesen lässt und dem Benutzer so das in den anderen Beiträgen stets nur unter bestimmten Aspekten und in Auszügen behandelte Gesamtwerk vor Augen gestellt wird.

Die antike Rezeption

Monica R. GALE beleuchtet im neunten Kapitel des Handbuchs zunächst die Bedeutung Catulls für die Entstehung der römischen Liebeselegie – ein Bereich, in dem ein weitgehender Forschungskonsens besteht, sodass GALE sich neben dem souveränen Referat der Entwicklung hin zu den Konzepten der *puella docta* sowie der *militia* und des *seruitium amoris* zum einen auf die Betonung der Unterschiede zwischen Catull und den Elegikern und zum anderen auf einige weniger prominente Aspekte wie die Orientierung sowohl Catulls als auch der Elegiker an Plotstrukturen der Komödie konzentrieren kann (vgl. zum letzteren Punkt insbesondere S. 225–226). Das spannungsreiche Verhältnis des Horaz zu seinem Vorgänger in der lateinischen Lyrik wird an Beispielen illustriert, die in den Gedichten des Augusteers die Tendenz „to orient themselves against Catullan precedents“ nachweisen (S. 226); Hor. *Carm*. I 22 beispielsweise „both recalls and diverges from her Catullan model“ (S. 228): „[...] the Augustan poet can be seen consistently to maintain a certain distance from his Republican precursor, moving away from the performative aspect of Catullan poetry, with its emphasis on the writing self, and typically adopting a more universalising, quasi-philosophical stance“ (S. 229). Auch die Archilochos-Nachfolge der *Epoden* wird nach GALE nicht nur durch Kallimachos, sondern auch durch Catull vermittelt (S. 232): „For the iambic Horace, as for the elegists, Catullus provides a suggestive framework within which to work through the crisis of masculinity“ (S. 233). Wie bereits MYERS in ihrer Analyse der Sappho-Übersetzungen rekurriert auch GALE auf ein Thema, das bereits THOMAS besprochen hat, wenn sie die Bedeutung des Vergleichs mit der vom Pflug gefällten Blume für die Darstellung der Todesszenen von Euryalus und Pallas unterstreicht (S. 233–234), was Catull. 11, 21–24 zu der im vorliegenden Handbuch gewiss am intensivsten untersuchten Stelle aus dem Gesamtwerk des Dichters macht. Dass es sich bei diesen Überschneidungen keineswegs um reine Dopplungen handelt, zeigt gerade GALES Weiterentwicklung der Erforschung von Vergils Umarbeitung der *carmina maiora* bei der Darstellung von Tod und Trauer (S. 234–238); an diesen Bereich der Catull-Nachfolge Vergils schließt GALE mit Gewinn auch dessen Auseinandersetzung mit den Mythen des Goldenen Zeitalters und des Trojanischen Krieges an (S. 238–240) und kommt zu folgendem Ergebnis, das die Bedeutung Catulls für die augusteischen Dichter sowohl inhaltlich näher bestimmt als auch zu einer eingängigen Formel verdichtet: „The characteristically Catullan combination of violent passion (whether aggression or desire) with neoteric elegance and *doctrina* was to prove formative for the poets of the Augustan period [...]. When the Augustans read Plautus, Apollonius, Archilochus, and even Homer, it is often through a Catullan filter“ (S. 241).

Das folgende, von Carole NEWLANDS verfasste Kapitel zur Rezeption Catulls in flavischer Zeit unterscheidet sich von GALES Ansatz, der einen gefestigten Forschungskonsens übersichtlich aufbereitet und durch eigene Schwerpunkte und Akzente ergänzt und weiterentwickelt, durch ein großes Vertrauen auf die Richtigkeit eines eigenen Ansatzes, wie sie etwa auch das Kapitel von THOMAS auszeichnet. So rekurriert NEWLANDS zwar auf vorgängige Forschungsergebnisse, wenn sie die Bedeutung der von Catull entwickelten Terminologie für das poetische Programm des jüngeren Plinius betont und im Hinblick auf die veränderten Produktionsbedingungen der flavischen

Epoche modifiziert; die aus den Bemerkungen sowohl des älteren als auch des jüngeren Plinius zu den *uersus duriusculos* Catulls (*Nat. praef*. 1 bzw. *Epist*. I 16, 5) herausgelesene Kritik, die Newlands einer ebenso selbstzufriedenen wie selbstgerechten Generation von dilettierenden Feierabenddichtern zuschreibt, wofür sie den griffigen, aber vielleicht etwas zu pauschal urteilenden Slogan von der „gentrification of hendecasyllabic poetry" prägt (S. 244), ist den angeführten Stellen aber nicht ohne Weiteres zu entnehmen. Überzeugender ist ihre Analyse der Kanonisierung und Historisierung Catulls durch die Flavier: „He [*scil*. Plinius] preserves Catull as a stylistic model while defusing his radical antisocial quality" (S. 246). Ebenso innovativ wie überzeugend begründet ist dagegen die Deutung der Auseinandersetzung Martials mit seinem Vorgänger als bewusste Steigerung gerade auch im Hinblick auf die obszönen Untertöne (S. 247–253; vgl. insbesondere die Deutung von Mart. XI 99: S. 250–253), die Martial – eine naheliegende Konsequenz, die Newlands nicht zieht oder zumindest nicht erwähnt – mit dem anonymen Verfasser der *Carmina Priapea* teilt und für die Datierung der letzteren von Bedeutung sein könnte. Ähnliche Tendenzen entdeckt Newlands auch bei Statius, dessen Wiederaufnahme des *phaselus* aus Catull. 4 in einem Kontext, in dem dieser zum nachgeschleppten Rettungsboot eines größeren Schiffes degradiert wird (*Silv*. III 2, 19) und so eine Parallele zum Vergleich zwischen Catulls *passer* und Stellas *columba* in Mart. I 7 (vgl. dazu S. 248–249) darstellt; auch die Bedeutung des Verses, in den Catull die Trauer um seinen Bruder kleidet (Catull. 68a, 20 ~ 68b, 92 ~ 101, 6) für die Darstellung der Trauer des Polyneices um Tydeus (Stat. *Theb*. IX 46–53) wird überzeugend nachgewiesen (S. 258, vgl. zur Rezeption des Verses auch S. 261).

Überlieferung und Edition

Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Catull ist das Thema des Beitrags von S.P. Oakley, der zunächst ein Stemma der wichtigsten Handschriften TOGRM präsentiert (S. 272), wobei die mit Abstand älteste Handschrift T (aus dem 9. Jahrhundert) lediglich Catull. 62 enthält und M durch Kontamination mit G aus R hervorgegangen ist und daher für die Textherstellung keine primäre Bedeutung hat. Zur Begründung dieses Stemmas, das als Archetypen und Hyparchetypen neben Ω insbesondere V/A (die wie T von Ω abstammen) und X (das wie O von V/A abstammt und sich weiter in G und R verzweigt) einführt, wird zum einen die Geschichte dieser Handschriften – soweit rekonstruierbar – referiert, was auch die Herleitung der Existenz eines *codex Veronensis* als Stammvater des in der Renaissance wiederentdeckten Catulltextes aus dem in G überlieferten Epigramm des Benvenuto Campesani einschließt (S. 265–267); zum anderen führt Oakley charakteristische Beispiele für typische Binde- bzw. Trennungsfehler an (S. 268–271). Eine Aufzählung der spärlichen Spuren einer äußerst eingeschränkten Kenntnis Catulls im Mittelalter (S. 271 und 273) leitet über zur Darstellung der begeisterten Wiederentdeckung des Dichters im Frühhumanismus, die ihren Ausgang von Verona nimmt, wo Catull zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts zunächst in engen räumlichen Zusammenhängen zitiert und exzerpiert wird, wohingegen er im Mittelalter erstaunlicherweise auch in Nordeuropa bekannt ist (S. 273–274); an die Feststellung dieses Gegensatzes schließt sich eine kurze Bemerkung zur (bescheidenden) Qualität des überlieferten Textes an (S. 275). Der übrige Aufsatz Oakleys bemüht sich um die Rekonstruktion der komplexen Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse zwischen den jüngeren und sämtlich unter dem Einfluss kontaminierender und konjizierender Humanisten stehenden Handschriften; eher am Rande erwähnt Oakley dabei die bahnbrechende (wenn auch ebenso unbewiesene wie wohl unbeweisbare) Theorie W.G. Hales (1908; 1922), dass sämtliche jüngere Handschriften von O, G und (insbesondere) R abstammen (S. 278), obgleich diese in den abschließenden Worten des Beitrags vollständig übernommen wird: „Conclusive proof may never be found that Hale was right to hold that all MSS apart from T derive from OGR, but no one has yet adduced a compelling reason to think he was wrong. For future editors, therefore, T, O, O^1, G, G^1, R, R^1, and R^2 remain the only witnesses that derive independently from the archetype and deserve full and regular citation in a critical apparatus" (S. 287).

Das zwölfte Kapitel des Handbuchs aus der Feder von Dániel Kiss bietet „a brief historical account of editing and commenting on Catullus from the *editio princeps* to the present" (S. 292).

Eine erste Phase bilden dabei die Ausgaben von Girolamo Squarzafico (Venedig 1472), Francesco Dal Pozzo/Puteolanus (Parma 1473) und Giovanni Planza de' Ruffioni/Calphurnius (Vicenza 1481) sowie die Kommentare von Antonio Partenio (Brescia 1485 oder 1486) und Palladio Fosco oder Negri (1496), bevor die von Girolamo Avanzi für (und mit) Aldo Manuzio besorgte Ausgabe (Venedig 1502, ²1515) neue Maßstäbe setzt – in positiver wie in negativer Hinsicht: „Earlier editors of Catullus had often printed patently corrupt words and phrases, and their editions were pockmarked by typographical errors; Aldo and Avanzi produced an edition that is fairly smooth and readable, but owes a great deal to the untrammelled fantasy of its editors, and very likely to that of Aldo in particular" (S. 298). Die Hochphase der humanistischen Catull-Forschung im 16. Jahrhundert wird dann durch die Beiträge von Battista und Alessandro Guarini, Marc-Antoine Muret, Achilles Statius und Joseph Justus Scaliger, in geringerem Maße auch durch diejenigen der Niederländer Justus Lipsius und Janus Dousa (sen. und jun.) geprägt, bevor nach dem lediglich durch Isaac Vossius repräsentierten 17. das 18. Jahrhundert und frühe 19. Jahrhundert mit Giovannantonio Volpi, Giovanni Francesco Corradino, Wilhelm Doering, Laurens van Santen und Carl Julius Sillig einen neuen Innovationsschub verzeichnen. Dass Karl Lachmann die Catull- nicht in demselben Maße revolutionieren konnte wie die Lukrez-Forschung, wird von Kiss zu Recht auf dessen Entscheidung zurückgeführt, seiner Ausgabe in erster Linie (um nicht zu sagen: ausschließlich) die – ihm am leichtesten zugänglichen, aber sonst in keiner Weise ausgezeichneten – Berliner Handschriften zugrunde zu legen, sodass die in der Theorie richtige Methode der Herstellung eines Textes auf der Grundlage der besten Handschriften und nicht wie zuvor auf derjenigen der vorangegangenen Editionen in der Praxis scheitern musste (S. 306–308). Die folgende Phase des intensiven Handschriftenvergleichs verbindet Kiss mit den Namen Ludwig Schwabe, Robinson Ellis, Emil Baehrens, William Gardner Hale, Theodor Heyse, Theodor Bergk (in der Ausgabe August Rossbachs), Alfred Edward Housman (in der Ausgabe John Percival Postgates), Sidney George Owen, Arthur Palmer, Alexander Riese und dem Gemeinschaftswerk von Eugène Benoist, Eugène Rostand und Emile Thomas. Unter den Editionen der jüngeren Vergangenheit hebt Kiss die als „fairly conservative" einzustufenden Ausgaben von Mynors (1958) und Thomson (1997) sowie die als „radical, but never reckless or superficial" gewürdigten von Goold (1973, ²1983) und Antonio Ramírez de Verger (2005), unter den Kommentaren diejenigen von Kroll (1923), Fordyce (1961), Quinn (1970), erneut Thomson (1997) sowie erneut Ramírez de Verger und Ana Pérez Vega (2005) hervor. In seinem Ausblick auf die zukünftige Editionspraxis wirbt Kiss für die (eigene) Online-Edition sowie für eine Pluralität an Editionen und Kommentaren (S. 314–316); man darf (wie bereits angedeutet) wohl zuversichtlich sein, dass sich zumindest die zweite Hoffnung erfüllen wird.

Die moderne Rezeption

In engem Zusammenhang mit Teilen der beiden vorangegangenen Kapitel steht die Untersuchung der Catull-Rezeption in der Renaissance durch Alex Wong, der mit Antonio Beccadelli beginnt und für die erste Generation der Neo-Catullianer insbesondere die Berufung auf Catull. 16 (und das Zitat dieser *lex Catulli* in Mart. I 35, 10–11) als Ausgangspunkt ansetzt. Komplexer gestaltet sich die bewusste Bezugnahme auf das Werk Catulls durch Cristoforo Landino, in dessen *Xandra* sich sowohl wörtliche Reminiszenen an verschiedene Gedichte Catulls als auch die Verwendung des Hendekasyllabus und stilistischer Charakteristika wie der Diminutive finden; doch erst Pontano, Sannazaro und Marullus kreieren den eigentlichen neo-catullischen Stil der Renaissance, als dessen Merkmale Wong insbesondere „repetition and redundancy" sowie „polysyllabic diminutives" sieht: „The total effect is of quasi-spontaneous but curiously artificial verbosity. [...] The mixture of off-hand colloquialism with lyrical artifice is something the humanists particularly responded to in Catullus" (alle Zitate S. 325). Die Popularität der Kussgedichte (Catull. 5, 7, 48 und 99) führt dann bei Johannes Secundus zur Entwicklung eines eigenen Genres (der *Basia*), die Wong in seiner Dissertation (2017) ausführlich untersucht hat und die nach Secundus neben zahlreichen anderen etwa ein George Buchanan fortsetzt (S. 331–332). Auf Ausführungen zur ebenfalls von Catull beeinflussten Tradition des Epithalamiums in der Renaissance werden kurze Schlaglichter auf die

volkssprachliche Rezeption in Frankreich und England geworfen; abschließend richtet Wong den Blick auch auf die Kritik am Neo-Catullianismus: „Naturally such writing, with its extreme stylistic mannerisms, unrepentant apologies and narrow range of ludic and erotic themes, invited attack from the more severly mind“ (S. 340), wofür Wong auch ein instruktives Beispiel anführt (S. 340–341).

Die Entscheidung für die Inklusion eines abschließenden Kapitels mit dem Titel „Catullus and Poetry in English since 1750“, das zu Beginn lediglich in einer Fußnote auf die Forschung zur Situation in den anderen europäischen Literatursprachen verweist (S. 343, Anm. 2) und mit dem Hinweis: „This chapter [...] will largely focus on Britain, with occasional excursions in other English-speaking environments“ beginnt (S. 343), ist gewiss kein Ruhmesblatt für den internationalen Anspruch der „Cambridge Companions to Literature and Classics“ und spiegelt erkennbar eher die Interessen des Verfassers Stephen Harrison als die genuinen Anforderungen eines Catull-Handbuchs wieder, bietet aber gute Überblicke über das 18. und 19. Jahrhundert (S. 344–349), während die Ausführungen zum 20. Jahrhundert eher eine – wenn auch zweifellos interessante – Textsammlung darstellen. Als typisch für das 21. Jahrhundert sieht Harrison „the prominence of female poets and writers“, von „female-authored biographical novels on the Catullus/Clodia affair“ sowie „female poetic translations and adaptions“ (S. 354); sein persönlicher Favorit allerdings sind die Catull-Imitationen in James Methvens *Precious Asses* aus dem Jahr 2009, mit denen Harrison sein Kapitel beschließt (S. 361–362).

Was also will und zu welchem Ende schreibt man ein Catull-Handbuch? Der von den Herausgebern formulierte Anspruch, Orientierungshilfe, substantielle Innovationen und Stimulanzen für weitere Forschungen in einem zu bieten, ist gewiss ein hehres Ziel und wird in weiten Bereichen des vorliegenden Handbuchs auch erfüllt: Die Beiträge von Woodman, Chahoud, Butterfield, Gale und Oakley sind als zusammenfassende, aber an keiner Stelle unzulässig verkürzende Einstiegsinformationen für die jeweiligen Aspekte ebenso unverzichtbar wie benutzerfreundlich geschrieben; dasselbe gilt mit kleineren Abstrichen auch für die von Damon, Thomas, Myers, Gibson und Wong verfassten Kapitel. Durch deutlichere Innovationen zeichnen sich der Beitrag von Newlands sowie insbesondere der großangelegte Versuch einer Gliederung des Gesamtwerks in vierzehn *libelli* durch du Quesnay aus. Kein Aufsatz jedoch richtet den Blick so konsequent in die Zukunft wie die wissenschaftsgeschichtlich ausgerichtete Studie von Kiss, die die Aufgaben einer kommenden Catull-Philologie insbesondere im Bereich der Edition und Kommentierung präzise formuliert und mit einem Appell verbindet, der gerade für die Catull-Forschung von überragender Bedeutung ist: derjenigen nach einer größeren Stimmenvielfalt (S. 314) – und (von Kiss nicht in dieser Deutlichkeit formuliert) nach einer neuen Dynamik in der Diskussion um die Deutung eines Dichters, der nicht zuletzt als entschiedener Vertreter einer äußerst lebendigen Streitkultur gewürdigt zu werden verdient.

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Warren S. Smith, *Religion and Apuleius' Golden Ass. The Sacred Ass*, New York: Routledge, 2022, XIV + 197 pp., ISBN 978-1-032-19280-2, £120.00.

Warren S. Smith's book consists of a Preface, ten chapters, appendix, bibliography, and index. In the Preface, Smith (= S.) outlines the scope and structure of the book, beginning with pointing to the different ways in which the figure of the donkey was portrayed in Graeco-Roman as well as in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim literature. He claims that although it was suggested in 1998 by David Konstan that there is a need to examine the relationship between the New Testament and *The Golden Ass*, the subject has not been studied in any substantial way[1]. An additional problem, S. writes, is the fact that scholars studying Apuleius are still divided in their opinions whether Book Eleven, describing the vision Lucius has of the goddess Isis and his subsequent conversion and initiation into her and Osiris' mysteries, is to be taken seriously (the traditional view[2]) or satirically (S. Harrison[3]), or, perhaps, in whichever way the reader wants (J. Winkler[4]).

S. attempted to compare some Jewish and Christian writings of the first and second centuries AD with *The Golden Ass*, on the assumption that Apuleius may have read them or may have been familiar with their content at least to a certain extent. In chapter one ("Asinine Thinking"), S. gives a very interesting account of the way the donkey was portrayed in Jewish Scriptures and, then, in the New Testament and Muslim writings. He juxtaposes this rather positive view of the animal with what he calls its "demonization" in the Greek and Roman literature, where donkey stood for ugliness, lust, and stupidity, which is reflected in the various examples of the *Eselroman* in the imperial period.

In chapters two to five, the author abandons this Abrahamic context and focuses on certain aspects of Apuleius' novel instead. First, he discusses the way Thessalian magic is presented in the first books of *The Golden Ass* (chapter two: "Magical Thinking. The Witchcraft Narrative"). He writes about the dark and dangerous description of sorcery by Apuleius, blended with strange or even sometimes grotesque allusions to the Platonic tradition and the figure of Socrates. Magic in *The Golden Ass* evokes both evil in the form of human malice and a sense of illusion and falsehood of perceived reality as something which cannot be trusted.

In chapter three ("Fortune Competes with Providence. The Meaning of Laughter"), as its title indicates, S. proposes to look at the interplay of two elements, *fortuna* and *providentia*, in the narrative of the novel, especially, in books three to ten, where Lucius is transformed into an ass. Here we have already some comparative references to the New Testament narratives, with their emphasis on the fact that it is providence, not fortune that rules human life. S. foreshadows his later discussions by suggesting that a similarity between Book Eleven of *The Golden Ass* and the New Testament is that fortune is overcome by divine providence.

In chapter four ("Robbers Think Like Heroes") S. analyses the robbers episode in the novel (Books Three to Six), in which, on the one hand, the robbers are presented as pitiful losers posing

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[1] S. does not refer to I. Ramelli, *Apuleius and Christianity: The Novelist-Philosopher in Front of a New Religion*, in: M.P.F. Pinheiro, A. Bierl, R. Beck (eds.), *Echoes of Myth, Religion and Ritual in the Ancient Novel*, Berlin 2013, pp. 145–173.

[2] E.g. A. Wlosok, *Zur Einheit der Metamorphosen des Apuleius*, Philologus CXIII 1969, pp. 68–84.

[3] S.J. Harrison, *Apuleius: A Latin Sophist,* Oxford 2000, pp. 238–252.

[4] J.J. Winkler, *Auctor and Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius' Golden Ass*, Berkeley 1985.

as heroes, but which, on the other hand, establishes the theme of cruelty which seems to be linked by Apuleius with the reign of Fortune. Chapter five ("Cupid and Psyche. Thinking Like a Winged Creature") deals with the famous inserted tale of Cupid and Psyche and S. draws here on his earlier work[5], in which he demonstrated strong parallels between the narrative of Lucius and the adventures of Psyche, which are both saturated by the elements familiar from Euripidean tragedies and Plautine comedies (as Regine May argued[6]), so that they seem to constitute a peculiar genre: a divine comedy.

In chapters six to ten, S. focuses on Jewish and Christian writings contemporary to *The Golden Ass*. In chapter six ("Thinking Like a Christian Apologist") he advances his main thesis that *The Golden Ass* may be a deliberate reaction to the rise of Christianity in the second century AD. Apuleius was largely ignorant about Christianity (like Lucian of Samosata or Pliny the Younger), but he seemed to have known something about it and decided to do two things. First, he borrowed some ideas from Christian (and Jewish) writings; second, he used them to attack and mock the new religion. S. comments on the episodes such as the wicked woman who worshipped *unicum deum* (*Met*. IX 14) or the satirical reference to Lucius as the ass preaching philosophy, to show that in Apuleius we can find motifs familiar from contemporary criticism of Christianity.

In chapter seven ("Is the Golden Ass a God?"), S. deals with the subject of onolatry of which Christians and Jews were accused at the time, as illustrated not only by the Alexamenos graffito (around 100 AD), but by late antique amulets, mocking a crucified figure with the head of a donkey. S. shows that the way young girl Charite, whom Lucius helped to escape from the robbers, describes him as golden and divine, may be an allusion to the supposed Christian onolatry. Moreover, the plans of the robbers to kill Charite by crucifying her, burning alive or sowing her into the inside of the ass (*Met*. VI 29–32), seem to be references to the persecutions of Christians.

In chapter eight ("Thinking Like a Christian"), S. compares the description of Lucius' conversion in Book Eleven to the account of Paul's conversion in the Acts, suggesting that here Apuleius enters into a competition with Christianity rather than merely depicting it as something grotesque. Chapter nine ("Christian and Jewish Apocalyptic Writings") is a fascinating discussion of the similarities between *The Golden Ass* and the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature of the late first and early second century AD. S. points out the main themes, such as separation from God, repentance, salvation, study of the word of God, divine visions etc., in various writings (Ezekiel, Daniel, 2 Esdras, Revelation, 1 Enoch, 2 Baruch, Shepherd of Hermas). He offers eight structural similarities between Book Eleven and Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature.

In chapter ten ("Balancing Judaism and Christianity"), S. concludes that the parallels discussed in the previous chapter suggest "a complex relationship between Apuleius and the Jewish-Christian faith", which he seems to have regarded as either two very similar or even identical religions. This would not be surprising given the fact that certain Christian apologists, as S. points out, did not sharply distinguish their own religion from that of the Jews.

The book ends with an appendix, in which S. discusses the famous 'intrusion' of Apuleius as the author into his own narrative, by means of which he seems to replace Lucius, the fictional character, as the narrator. In *Met*. XI 27 we read that not Lucius, but a certain man from Madaura is to be initiated into the mysteries. In S.'s interpretation, that can be seen as a kind of confirmation of the authenticity of the conversion experience that had been described; it is a literary strategy similar to those which we find in the Acts in the case of Paul or Peter.

S.'s book is the fruit of a life-long study of *The Golden Ass* and it is an excellent read. Moreover, it offers a new perspective not only on the relationship between Apuleius and early Christianity, but also on how the pagan elite was perceiving the new religion and reacting to it.

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[5] W.S. Smith, *Cupid and Psyche Tale: Mirror of the Novel*, in: M. Zimmermann *et al*. (eds.), *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass*, vol. II: *Cupid and Psyche*, Groningen 1998, pp. 69–82.

[6] R. May, *Apuleius and Drama: The Ass on Stage*, Oxford 2006.

Apuleius was a representative of the educated, bilingual Graeco-Roman elite that witnessed the rise of Christianity and, S. argues, his response was not so much a philosophical polemic (which he could have done of course, as a Platonist philosopher and a skillful orator) as a brilliantly written novel, combining satirical, grotesque and playful elements with a serious religious message. S.'s Apuleius appears as a pagan intellectual deeply contemptuous of Christianity and content with a very superficial knowledge of its sacred scriptures. Apuleius wanted not only to mock Christianity, but to claim the superiority of his own religious experience and of another saviour, the goddess Isis, not through theological argument, but through literary allusion and satire.

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IN SEARCH OF A HOLISTIC APPROACH: THE MARCOMANNIC WARS AND THE ANTONINE PLAGUE VIEWED FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE NORTHERN FRONTIER AND BEYOND (A REVIEW ARTICLE)*

Michael Erdrich, Balázs Komoróczy, Paweł Madejski, Marek Vlach (eds.), ***Marcomannic Wars and Antonine Plague: Selected Essays on Two Disasters That Shook the Roman World*** **(*Die Markomannenkriege und die Antoninische Pest. Ausgewählte Essays zu zwei Desastern, die das Römische Reich erschütterten*),** Brno: Czech Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology; Lublin: Instytut Archeologii, Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2020 (Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 61; Lubelskie Materiały Archeologiczne, tom XVII), 298 pp., ISBN 978-80-7524-026-2; ISBN 978-83-227-9223-0.

In October 2016 an international conference entitled "The Impact of the Marcomannic Wars and the Antonine Plague on Roman and Barbarian Societies North of the Alps" took place in Brno. One of the outcomes of the conference was the eventual publication in 2020 of a collective monograph edited by Michael Erdrich, Balázs Komoróczy, Paweł Madejski and Marek Vlach. The monograph is entitled *Marcomannic Wars and Antonine Plague: Selected Essays on Two Disasters That Shook the Roman World*[1] and it was jointly published by the archaeological institutes from the universities of Brno and Lublin. The long gap between the conference and the publication of the monograph was due to the occurrence of COVID-19 (p. 11), a more modern pandemic than the Antonine plague but, nonetheless, a specific *memento* of history repeating itself. However, it should be noted that the bibliographies of several contributing authors include publications that appeared between 2016 and 2020, which partly diminishes the impact that a four-year gap would usually have on such a publication. The subjects covered in the volume, i.e., the Antonine plague and the Marcomannic wars[2], have both proven to be controversial in academic circles (which is readily noticeable in the individual contributions) and have been fervently discussed over the last couple of decades[3]. The aim of the conference (and, therefore, the monograph) was to "examine whether and what effects the Marcomannic wars and the pandemic that broke out almost simultaneously [...] had on the population of selected areas on either side of the Roman Rhine and Danube borders" (p. 11), although in some chapters the geographical (as well as the chronological) scope was expanded. The local "northern" perspective (especially in the case of the Antonine plague)

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[1] The title is bilingual; for the German version see the bibliographical notice above.

[2] I will consequently use both these terms; however, one should bear in mind that in antiquity the *bellum Marcomannicum* referred to only one campaign during the conflict we now call Marcomannic (as Madejski points out, see p. 47), and some researchers question whether the term "Antonine plague" represented numerous diseases or just a single epidemic (see e.g. Ch. Bruun, *The Antonine Plague in Rome and Ostia*, JRA XVI 2003, p. 426, n. 1).

[3] Two important post-conference publications should be mentioned here: H. Friesinger, J. Tejral, A. Stuppner (eds.), *Markomannenkriege – Ursachen und Wirkungen. 6. Internationales Symposium "Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im nördlichen Mitteldonaugebiet", Wien, 23.–26. November 1993*, Brno 1994; E. Lo Cascio (ed.), *L'impatto della "Peste Antonina"*, Bari 2012.

was particularly promising. The chapters were all published in either English or German and were written by specialists from the relevant field(s), i.e., archaeology, history, or epigraphy.

The book is divided into four parts that are preceded by a short "Editor's Preface" (in English and in German; pp. 11–14) containing important information regarding the "technical" aspects of the publication. The first part – "Antonine Plague" ("Antoninische Pest") consists of three chapters. The opening chapter was authored by Rupert Breitwieser and is entitled "Pest und Provinz. Seuchen und ihre Auswirkungen auf das tägliche Leben" (pp. 17–22). The first section of the contribution is devoted to other historical epidemics, particularly the Athenian plague of 430 BCE which was described by Thucydides, whilst the Antonine plague is the main subject of the second section. Breitwieser suggests that a bronze plaque from Virunum (most probably an *album* of Mithraists)[4], which documents the sudden death of a number of individuals between 183 and 184 CE, is evidence that the city was affected by the Antonine plague. The second, much longer paper is entitled "The Antonine Plague and Impact Possibilities during the Marcomannic Wars" (pp. 23–36) and was written by Marek Vlach, who divided his text into six subchapters. Vlach begins with a slightly pessimistic question that was borrowed from the title of a paper by Richard R. Paine: "If a population crashes in Prehistory, and there is no paleodemographer there to hear it, does it make a sound?" (p. 23)[5]. The paper briefly presents the history of discussion concerning the Antonine plague, the main sources (and the problems they generate), the identification of the disease (which, according to Vlach, was most probably smallpox; however, due to the advancement in the study of natural sciences he admits that further studies are necessary) and the consequences that climate change had on the epidemic. The core of the article is provided by the subchapter devoted to the "Antonine Plague and Possibilities of Impacts within the Marcomannic Wars", in which Vlach "crosses" the border of the Roman Empire and looks at the impact the epidemic had on the territories of the Germanic tribes. The results, however, are unspectacular as traces of the epidemic are, as of today, almost invisible in the archaeological material. Perhaps, as Vlach concludes, despite the colder climate (in which smallpox thrives) and, e.g., the interactions between the locals and the Roman soldiers (who were the "spreaders" of the plague), the low population density of the Germanic lands enabled their inhabitants to avoid the full-scale consequences of the disease. The last contribution in this part, "Bemerkungen zur Bevölkerung Pannoniens im Zeitalter der Markomannenkriege" (pp. 37–42), was written by Péter Kovács, who, like Breitwieser, focuses mainly on the epigraphic evidence. After discussing several demographic processes that took place in Pannonia (e.g., the appearance of large numbers of new inhabitants from different parts of the Empire who replaced the previous inhabitants that had died during the Marcomannic wars or were perhaps victims of the Antonine plague), Kovács highlights a specific and interesting phenomenon amongst Pannonian funerary monuments that occurred mainly in the city of Savaria, i.e., "blank spaces" after the word[s] *annorum* where the age of the deceased would normally appear. According to Kovács, these inscriptions (the vast majority of which were dated by him to the second half of the 2nd c. CE) could be evidence that the Marcomannic wars, which resulted in the death, captivity, or flight of Savaria's inhabitants, was not the only event that contributed to the depopulation of this part of the Roman world.

The papers in the three other parts of the monograph are mainly focused on the Marcomannic wars or some accompanying phenomena, and therefore references to the Antonine plague appear only incidentally.

Part two is entitled "Politics and Historiography" ("Politik und Geschichtsschreibung") and begins with a chapter by Paweł Madejski "Exercises in Loss or Absence? Ancient Historiography and the Marcomannic Wars" (pp. 45–50). Madejski observes that the subject of the Marcomannic

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[4] See R. Gordon, *Two Mithraic Albums from Virunum, Noricum*, JRA IX 1996, p. 424.

[5] R.R. Paine, *If a Population Crashes in Prehistory, and There Is No Paleodemographer There to Hear It, Does It Make a Sound?*, American Journal of Physical Anthropology CXII 2000, pp.181–190.

wars, although present in ancient historiography, was not popular amongst Greek and Roman historians due to their lack of interest in northern Europe (i.e., the *Barbaricum*). According to Madejski, this was particularly true of Greek-speaking authors, since almost no great battles took place in the region and no cities were conquered; therefore, the Marcomannic wars could not be compared to heroic conflicts of the past. Moreover, the historians of the time were much more concerned with producing biographies of the emperors which resulted in the wars being overshadowed by the formidable presence of Marcus Aurelius. This is evidenced by the fact that ancient historians saw his death, and not the Marcomannic wars, as the turning point in Rome's history (this view remained unchanged until the 18th century and the appearance of Edward Gibbon's seminal work concerning the history of the Roman Empire). The next chapter, "Die Personalpolitik des Imperium Romanum in der Periode der Markomannenkriege" (pp. 51–58), focuses on the Roman army during and shortly after the Marcomannic wars and is, according to its author Peter Herz, only a preliminary study. At the core of Herz's discussion is an analysis of an inscription found in Viminacium and dated to 195 CE which contains a list of veterans from *legio VII Claudia*[6]. Herz focuses most of all on the origins of the veterans (more than 30% of whom had imperial *nomina* and, therefore, their families had recently been granted citizenship – especially in the case of the Marcii Aurelii, the most numerously represented family amongst this group of veterans). According to Herz, the number of veterans listed in this inscription reveals the enormous demand placed on recruitment in 169 CE (when perhaps up to 100,000 men were enlisted). The next chapter, "Die Außenpolitik des Kaisers Marcus Aurelius während der Markomannenkriege – ein Beispiel der *propagatio Imperii*?" by Krzysztof Królczyk (pp. 59–69), addresses a problem that has been around since the time of Theodor Mommsen – i.e., whether Marcus Aurelius planned to create new Roman provinces beyond the Danube and Rhine *limes*. After analysing both the narrative sources (which are inconsistent regarding this matter and sometimes of low credibility, as is the case with the *Historia Augusta*) and the archaeological evidence (which has been variously interpreted by modern researchers, sometimes in ways that are mutually exclusive), as well as an interesting medallion depicting the busts of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus accompanied by the inscription *propagatoribus Imperii* (published for the first time by Dorothy H. Cox in 1959)[7], Królczyk suggests that Marcus Aurelius did indeed plan to create the afore-mentioned new provinces. The last text in this part, "In Search of the *bellum desertorum*" by Michał N. Faszcza (pp. 71–78), goes beyond the main thematic scope of the monograph and discusses Maternus and his actions during Commodus' reign. As Faszcza clearly postulates at the beginning of his contribution, his main aim is not to discuss the historicity of Maternus (mentioned mainly by Herodian), but to confront the motive of the *bellum desertorum* with Hobsbawm's "social banditry"[8] (according to Faszcza, Maternus is definitely not a "social bandit") and with Bowersock's "fiction as history"[9]. Faszcza concludes that in the case of Maternus and the *bellum desertorum* "literary reality should not be strictly separated from the historical reality, because both were used for the same purpose: to write history understood primarily as a type of literature" (p. 77–78), a statement with which I fully agree.

The third part of the monograph is entitled "Germanic Threat of [*sic*, instead of "to"] the Provinces" ("Die Germanische Bedrohung der Provinzen") and each of its chapters focus on the traces the Marcomannic wars left in the Roman frontier provinces. The first contribution, "Vorboten und Auswirkungen der Markomannenkriege im Nordgrenzbereich. Das Beispiel Raetien" (pp.

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[6] *CIL* III 14507 = *AE* 1901, 12 = *AE* 1901, 13 = *AE* 1901, 126 = *AE* 1969/1970, 500c = *AE* 2004, 1223 (all abbreviations of epigraphic sources after Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby).

[7] D.H. Cox, *Coins from the Excavations at Curium 1932–1935*, New York 1953, p. 30, no. 230.

[8] E. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Manchester 1959.

[9] G.W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian*, Berkeley–London 1994.

81–88), was authored by Ragnar Hund, who analyses the newest archaeological sources from the *limes*. In his paper Hund criticises the work by Stefan Priwitzer[10] and, like Królczyk, suggests that it was the Roman emperors who were responsible for the Marcomannic wars and not the Germanic tribes (although their initial plans were quickly ruined). A large section of the paper deals with the situation on the borders (not only in Raetia) during the reign of Antoninus Pius. According to Hund, this period should no longer be treated as uneventful, since the tribes beyond the borders were becoming increasingly restless which forced Pius to strengthen the *limes* by, for example, rebuilding the system of fortifications (which is readily noticeable in the archaeological material from Raetia) and by waging war on certain tribes. The next chapter, "Ein markomannenzeitlicher Schatzfundhorizont? Die norischen und pannonischen Münzdepots mit Schlussmünzen der Kaiser Antoninus Pius und Marcus Aurelius und ihr Bezug zu den Markomannekriege" by Alexander Ruske (pp. 89–97), is for the most part methodological in character. The author convincingly presents the dangers connected with narrow interpretations of coin hoards, which are too often seen as evidence of war and the fear it evokes, while the reason for "hiding" coins, especially with regards to small hoards, could be manifold and often trivial (e.g., losing money while travelling or hiding financial surpluses in safe places to prevent them from being stolen). The last subchapter is devoted to an analysis of the different types of coin hoards (of which there are 25 in total) found in Pannonia and Noricum that are dated to the period of the Marcomannic wars. In this case Ruske, in accordance with his earlier postulates, does not limit his discussion to just the number of coins found (*Inhalt*), as he also, when possible, mentions the object in which the coins where hidden (*Fundgefaß*) and the exact location of the finds (*Fundort*) along with other useful snippets of information (*Sonstiges*). The chapter entitled "Raids of the Marcomanni and Quadi in the Southeast Alpine Region around 170 AD – The Case Study of Flavia Solva" (pp. 99–105) also concerns the problems associated with broad interpretations that are drawn from narrow samples. Its author, Christoph Hinker, writes that the Roman city of Flavia Solva was believed to have been destroyed and burnt to the ground during the Marcomannic wars (an idea that was pioneered by the early 20th c. archaeologist Walter Schmid and later accepted by, for example, Géza Alföldy)[11]. In fact, the results from relatively new excavations (1989–1992) conducted at *insula XLI* reveal that the burnt layer dates to c. 170 CE; however, according to Hinker, there is no other evidence (except the chronology) that convincingly points to the fire being the result of war; moreover, other parts of the city (known from rescue excavations) do not bear traces of extensive conflagration. Therefore, as Hinker concludes, the idea that Flavia Solva was destroyed during the Marcomannic wars is unconvincing, or at the very least difficult to prove. The next chapter, "Römerzeitliche Brandschichten in St. Pölten" by Ronald Risy and Silvia Zenz (pp. 107–111), also raises the issue of over-interpreting archaeological finds. The paper discusses the Roman city of Aelium Cetium (modern-day St. Pölten) which, since the publication of Peter Scherrer's paper in 1994, was also believed to have been destroyed during the Marcomannic wars[12]; however, more recent excavations (conducted since 2010) have complicated this view. Excavations in the city's cathedral square revealed a burnt layer, but, according to the authors, this layer should be dated to the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd c. CE. Although the chronology of this layer is based on finds that are scarce and at times difficult to date (Risy and Senz are aware of this and, thus, do not want to go too far with their conclusions), it casts a shadow on the broadly accepted

[10] S. Priwitzer, *Marc Aurel und der Doppelprinzipat*, in: W. Grieb (ed.), *Marc Aurel – Wege zu seiner Herrschaft*, Gutenberg 2017, pp. 1–22.

[11] See especially W. Schmid, *Flavia Solva*, Graz ²1917; G. Alföldy, *Noricum*, London, p. 154 (*non vidi*, cited after Hinker).

[12] P. Scherrer, *Der große Markomanneneinfall des Jahres 170 und seine Folgen im Lichte der neuen Ausgrabungen in Aelium Cetium/St. Pölten*, in: Friesinger, Tejral, Stuppner, *op. cit*. (n. 3), pp. 447–455.

thesis by Scherrer. Another Roman city, Vindobona, is the subject of Martin Mosser's chapter "Vindobona während der Markomannenkriege" (pp. 113–120). Again, the city used to be treated as a victim of the Marcomannic wars, but archaeological excavations conducted since the end of the 20th c. reveal that such a scenario is probably unlikely. Moreover, according to Mosser, Vindobona played an important role during the Marcomannic wars. This opinion is based on archaeological finds from the legionary fort of Vindobona which prove that some of its buildings were rebuilt in stone, perhaps during the time of the Marcomannic wars. The importance of the city as a military base is also emphasised by the discovery of brick stamps that were produced by *legio II Italica* (a *vexillatio* of which replaced *legio X Gemina* in Vindobona, according to Mosser) and *legio X Gemina* (that were found in Mušov but were actually manufactured close to Vindobona, in the area of modern-day Hernals, a district of Vienna). Taking this assumption into consideration, the provocative suggestion Mosser concludes with, which follows Aurelius Victor's testimony, i.e., that Marcus Aurelius died in Vindobona, does not sound so unrealistic. The last paper in this part, "Markomannenkreige, Antoninische Pest und die Folgen für die Provinz Germania Inferior – Eine archäologische Spurensuche" by Boris A.N. Burandt (pp. 121–125), diverges from the narrow perspective present in the three previous chapters, as it concerns the whole province (and not an individual city) and discusses both the Marcomannic wars and the Antonine plague. Considerably more space is devoted to the Marcomannic wars; therefore, the decision by the editors to place the article in the third part is not surprising. However, according to Burandt, no archaeological or epigraphic sources document the Marcomannic wars and the Antonine plague in Germania inferior (except for the relocation of *legio I Minervia* from Bonna to the Parthian and later the Danubian frontier). Moreover, it seems that during this period the province was relatively safe and became more prosperous and populous.

The fourth part of the monograph, "Archaeological Evidence of the Marcomannic Wars Beyond Empire's Borders" ("Der archäologische Niederschlag der Markomannenkriege jenseits der Reichsgenzen [*sic*!]") not only has the longest title, but is also literally the longest section in the monograph (slightly longer than the other three parts combined). It starts (surprisingly) with a paper "Britain beyond Hadrian's Wall in the Late Second Century: Imperial Policies and Local Responses" by Fraser Hunter (pp. 129–136) who informs the reader that there is no evidence for the Antonine plague beyond Hadrian's Wall and that the Marcomannic wars had no direct impact on this part of the *Barbaricum*. Nonetheless, Hunter's analysis and interpretation of coin hoards found in Scotland brings promising results since, according to the author, they show the "changing patterns of contact" between the Romans and their neighbours. Many of these hoards are dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus and were found in lands belonging to the most troublesome tribes – the Maeatae and the Caledonii (whereas no such hoards have been found in these areas from the time of Antoninus Pius or Septimius Severus). Perhaps, as Hunter states, this reflects Roman policy in this particular frontier region – when problems existed on the Danube *limes*, they preferred to ensure peace by offering the troublesome border tribes rich gifts. Coin hoards are also the main subject of the next contribution, "Der Münzhort von Kovaszinc (heute: Covăsint, Rumänien) – Bemerkungen zu den Münzhorten des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in der Ungarischen Tiefebene" by Péter Prohászka (pp. 137–143). He focuses on the Kovaszinc coin hoard (which consisted of ca. 300 Roman *denarii* dated from the period of Nero until 141 CE) and discusses whether it was somehow related to the Marcomannic wars. After comparing the treasure with several other similarly dated hoards that were found in the Hungarian plains, Prohászka concludes that the Kovaszinc hoard was more than likely connected to the conflict. Vladimír Varsik, the author of the next paper ("Die Markomannenkriege und die quadischen Siedlungen in der Slowakei", pp. 145–157), focuses on the Quadian settlements in Vel'ký Meder, Branč, Štúrovo and Bratislava-Trnávka and attempts to connect them with the Marcomannic wars. However, as Varsik admits, the archaeological evidence (mostly *terra sigillata*) that allows for the chronology of these settlements to be established is scarce (and not as precise as one would wish) and the period of the Marcomannic wars was quite short; therefore, the results of such studies are, at least in the

current state of research, only hypothetical. According to Varsik, it is probable that the settlements of Vel'ký Meder and Branč were unaffected by the conflict while those of Štúrovo and Bratislava-Trnávka were temporarily abandoned by their inhabitants; however, in these instances new settlements appeared nearby during the Severan period. Similar problems with determining the exact chronology of the archaeological finds (as well as the lack of a good monograph concerning *terra sigillata* found in Moravia and the quality of older archaeological excavations in the region) were encountered by Jan Jílek, the author of the chapter entitled "Comparative Research on Roman Imports to Moravia before, during and after Marcomannic Wars, Based on Published Finds (State of Research until 2010)" (pp. 159–171). Jílek takes into consideration various types of objects (bronze vessels, *terra sigillata*, fibulas) and notes that these types of Roman goods were most numerous in Moravia during the period of the Marcomannic wars. The monograph's final chapter is entitled "A Companion to the Archaeological Sources of Roman Military Interventions into the Germanic Territory North of the Danube during the Marcomannic Wars" (pp. 173–254) and was co-written by Balázs Komoróczy, Ján Rajtár, Marek Vlach and Claus-Michael Hüssen. This detailed study represents the current state of research concerning the movements of the Roman army in the territories of the Quadi and the Marcomanni (which is much better documented archaeologically) that is being conducted on a trilateral basis involving research centres in Germany, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia (the initial period of cooperation also included Austria). The authors focus on numerous temporary camps and permanent forts belonging to the Roman army, among which the largest number of pages, unsurprisingly, are devoted to Mušov-Burgstall (pp. 203–212).

The monograph concludes with a summary by Michael Erdrich entitled "Summing Up and Looking Forward" (pp. 255–260, also in German) followed by a vast collection of "References" (pp. 261–298).

It is very noticeable that the Antonine plague is not as extensively discussed in the monograph as the Marcomannic wars. Discounting some notes in Burandt's chapter and a few sporadic mentions here and there, only three papers directly relate to the disease. I will now discuss two of these in more detail. The first, Kovács' contribution concerning the population of Pannonia during the Marcomannic wars, attempts to investigate the Antonine plague using evidence from funerary inscriptions. In one of his earlier papers, Christer Bruun expressed scepticism towards the use of epitaphs when researching the plague, especially when they are used in quantitative studies[13]. However, his suspicion could be misplaced (as one may presume) since there are numerous Lydian epitaphs which allow the mortality rate during the Antonine plague to be estimated[14]. On the other hand, the Lydian epitaphs are quite precisely dated whilst those from Pannonia are not. Kovács (p. 38) suggests that almost all his examples (16 from Savaria, four from its surrounding area and two from Pannonia inferior – Aquincum and Bátmonostor, see pp. 41–42) can be safely dated to the second half of the 2nd c. CE. All these inscriptions have "blank spaces" where the age of the relevant individuals (who were expected to be buried in the tomb after death) should have been added (after the formula *annorum*). Kovács postulates that this could mean there were no living relatives or other heirs to bury the deceased and "finish" the inscription, or that they were buried in mass graves. If so, something unexpected had probably happened that caused mass death or forced their heirs to flee, which left no one to bury the dead in the familial tomb, or alternatively, the deceased was buried in the tomb, but nobody knew their age, so the space was left blank. When one takes into consideration the proposed chronology, the Antonine plague or military action during the Marcomannic wars could have been the reason behind such an unexpected event, the former being quite plausible in Kovács' opinion. One cannot, therefore, measure the death rate (as in the case of Lydia); nonetheless, the epitaphs can be seen as evidence of the significant impact the Antonine plague had on the local demography. However, the thesis by Kovács, although

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[13] Bruun, *op. cit*. (n. 2), p. 429.

[14] Following R.P. Duncan-Jones, *The Antonine Plague Revisited*, Arctos LII 2018, pp. 48–50.

undoubtedly interesting, has a few weaknesses besides those acknowledged by the author himself (i.e., war being the reason for the "blank spaces" or the burial of individuals mentioned in such inscriptions in other familial tombs; pp. 40–41). The first weakness concerns the chronology of the inscriptions, which is always problematic in the case of epitaphs. Kovács thinks that the inscriptions are all quite similar in terms of palaeography, formulae and the *nomina* of the individuals. However, I am not convinced, as there are obvious differences amongst the epitaphs (e.g., the phrase *Dis manibus* appears in some of the inscriptions but not all, some contain *tria nomina* without abbreviation, others have abbreviated *nomina gentilicia*, whilst filiation [and/or *tribus*] appears only sporadically). Additionally, the relatively new corpus of inscriptions from Savaria published by Endre Tóth dates some of the monuments mentioned by Kovács differently, which casts doubt on at least 14 of the 20 inscriptions[15]. The acceptance of Tóth's chronology means that the distribution of the inscriptions with "blank spaces" is more balanced during the 2nd c. CE and the Severan period than Kovács assumed. Moreover, several inscriptions taken into consideration by Kovács do not in fact have a "blank space" after the word *annorum* (which suggests that the commissioners of these inscriptions never contemplated adding the deceased's age)[16] and in some cases damage to the stone makes it difficult to tell if an age was added or not[17]. The former phenomenon is especially interesting since many of the inscriptions from Savaria mentioned by Kovács contain the phrase *vivus fecit sibi* and the individuals who built the tomb and paid for the inscription whilst they were still alive added the phrase *annorum* in relation to themselves. Such a combination is almost completely absent not only in Pannonia, but in other cities throughout the Empire. Moreover, unsurprisingly the exact age of such individuals was rarely added in Savaria. Finally, one may ask (which Kovács does, albeit without providing a convincing answer) why inscriptions with "blank spaces" appear much more frequently in Savaria than in other Pannonian cities, especially Aquincum which was the base of *legio II Adiutrix* (see Vlach, p. 29). In fact, a *vexillatio* from this legion was sent to Parthia with Lucius Verus and, therefore, should have spread the plague upon returning home[18]. All this suggests, in my opinion, that a specific kind of "epigraphic habit" existed in Savaria, which was perhaps even difficult for some inhabitants of the city and/or stonecutters to understand (as one might expect given the lack of space after the word *annorum*). This does not mean that Kovács' presumption should be disregarded and that Savaria

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[15] E. Tóth, *Lapidarium Savariense. Savaria római feliratos kőemlékei*, Szombathely 2011. According to Tóth, these inscriptions (among those mentioned by Kovács) should be dated differently (either less precisely or to another period): *CIL* III 4181 = *RIU* 49 = *LapSav* 94 (Severan period); *CIL* III 4194 = *RIU* 61 = *LapSav* 112 (2nd c. CE); *CIL* III 4196 = *RIU* 57 = *LapSav* 110 (Kovács wrongly as *CIL* III 4195; second half of the 1st c. CE); *CIL* III 4202 = *RIU* 91 = *AE* 1995, 1252 = *LapSav* 103 (2nd c. CE); *CIL* III 4204 = *RIU* 55 = *LapSav* 105 (2nd c. CE); *CIL* III 4208 = *RIU* 93 = *LapSav* 109 (2nd c. CE or even first half of the 2nd c. CE); *CIL* III 4209 = *RIU* 62 = *LapSav* 114 (2nd c. CE); *CIL* III 4214 = *CIL* III 13421 = *RIU* 65 = *LapSav* 120 (Severan period); *CIL* III 14066 = *RIU* 67 = *LapSav* 124 (mid 2nd c. CE); *RIU* 52 = *AE* 1972, 397 = *LapSav* 97 (Severan period); *RIU* 54 = *AE* 1972, 401 = *AE* 1982, 802 = *LapSav* 104 (first half of the 3rd c. CE); *CIL* III 4224 = *LapSav* 232 (2nd c. CE); *CIL* III 4211 = *RIU* 126 = *AE* 1977, 633 = *AE* 1995, 1255 = *LapSav* 218 = (Severan period); *AE* 1988, 935 = *RIU* Suppl. 28 = *LapSav* 189 (Severan period).

[16] *CIL* III 4184 = *RIU* 89 = *LapSav* 99; *CIL* III 4202 = *RIU* 91 = *AE* 1995, 1252 = *LapSav* 103; perhaps *CIL* III 4224 = *LapSav* 232.

[17] *CIL* III 4202 = *RIU* 91 = *AE* 1995, 1252 = *LapSav* 103; *CIL* III 4204 = *RIU* 55 = *LapSav* 105.

[18] Kovács mentions a single inscription from Aquincum (*CIL* III 3593 = *CIL* III 10544 = *TitAq* 576) but in this case one inscription proves nothing as there are examples from other Pannonian cities that contain a "blank space" and are not dated to the second half of the 2nd c. CE (e.g. Brigetio: *AE* 2010, 1259, or Ajka: *RIU* 367).

was not affected by the Antonine plague; however, at least in my opinion, the evidence provided by the inscriptions, as proposed by Kovács, is not very convincing[19].

Kovács' paper, despite the above remarks, attempts to ask new questions regarding the long-known sources. The same cannot be said about Breitwieser's contribution, since the section devoted to the Antonine plague is very similar to an article published by the same author in 1995[20]. An *album* containing the members of the *mithraeum* in Virunum shows that five of them (out of 34) died between the time the inscription was carved (estimated to be between the end of 182 CE and the late autumn of 183 CE) and the 26th of June 184 CE. From the time of its first publication by Gernot Piccottini, the inscription was treated as evidence of the Antonine plague in this city[21]. The inclusion of information regarding the death of certain Mithraists is unusual, as this is not typical behaviour in the case of the *alba*; however, it might have something in common with their beliefs[22]. Breitwieser tries to use this *album* to measure the death rate during the period of the Antonine plague (p. 22) and concludes that it was around 14.7%. The possibility that Breitwieser's calculations are correct cannot be ignored; however, one question does come to mind – namely, what was the "typical" yearly death rate among Mithraists from this city during this period? Obviously, we cannot answer this question with any certainty, but we can estimate the rate by comparing this inscription with the fragments of another preserved *album* that concerns Mithraists from Virunum, which has been tentatively dated to 202 CE[23]. This *album* documents the construction of a new *mithraeum* (perhaps the old building was too small to accommodate the growing number of Mithraists)[24] and it includes numerous names that also feature in the older inscription (which, significantly, appear in the same order). We can compare the second column from the later *album* (this column is in the best state of preservation) with the first *album*. From Valerius Hermophilus (added to the first *album* most probably in 184 CE, whose name opens the second column in the later *album*) to Marcus Marius Zosimus (added in 192 CE[?], the last readable name in the second column of the later *album*) there are 19 Mithraists in the first and only ten in the later *album.* This means that between 184 and 202 CE almost half of the individuals disappeared for some reason. It is probable that they were already dead by 202 CE, and, therefore, the average yearly death rate among Mithraists could be estimated to be between 2.5–3%. Consequently, the death of one or two members in the first *album* between 183 and 184 CE could be treated as "natural". Of course, there are too many "ifs" here to draw any conclusions (perhaps some Mithraists did not die, but left Virunum or the *collegium* [due to economic or religious reason] before the second *album* was carved, or maybe some of the members did not join the second

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[19] The problems associated with interpreting other evidence in the context of the narrative sources was discussed by Frank Kolb in his book about Homer, Troy, and excavations in Hisarlik (F. Kolb, *Tatort "Troia". Geschichte, Mythen, Politik*, Paderborn 2010) and by Ruske and Prohászka in this monograph (regarding coin hoards).

[20] R. Breitwieser, *Virunum und die "Antoninische Pest"*, GB XXI 1995, pp. 149–156.

[21] G. Piccottini, *Mithrastempel in Virunum*, Klagenfurt 1994, pp. 14–44 (see also: *AE* 1993, 1246 = *AE* 1994, 1334 = *AE* 1996, 1189 = *AE* 1998, 1016).

[22] Roger Beck discusses this interesting idea and proposes that the Antonine plague was the cause of this untypical phenomenon (R. Beck, *"Qui mortalitatis causa convenerunt": The Meeting of the Virunum Mithraists on June 26, A. D. 184*, Phoenix LII 1998, pp. 335–344).

[23] *CIL* III 4816 = *ILLPRON* 15 = *ILLPRON* 16 = *ILLPRON* 748 = *ILLPRON* 773 = *ILLPRON* 774 = *AE* 1994, 1335. This chronology is uncertain, it was proposed by Piccottini and later accepted by researchers, see Gordon, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 425.

[24] See *ibidem*.

mithraeum)[25]. However, when we take into consideration the Coale–Demeny Model Life Tables, especially Model West, Level 3 (which is, according to Richard Saller, quite reliable in the case of the Roman Empire)[26], the yearly death rate for Romans aged between 20 and 55 (we may presume that most Mithraists were in this age range) was between 1.6 and 3%[27], which is quite close to the above-mentioned calculation. Therefore, the yearly death rate of 14.7% during the Antonine plague proposed by Breitwieser should be treated as the maximum figure, while a rate of between 9–10% would be more reasonable. However, we are clearly treading on dangerous ground here due to the small numbers involved (which always produce uncertainty when applied to statistical or quasi-statistical models); thus, these proposed figures should be treated with caution.

There are a few other minor inaccuracies and debatable matters in the monograph, which do not diminish the value of the reviewed publication. For instance, Vlach is of the opinion that the Antonine plague was most probably smallpox (p. 26), while Breitwieser sees this diagnosis as extremely doubtful ("äußerst zweifelhalt"; p. 20). The former scholar points out that the legions spread the disease and identifies *legio I Minervia* from Bonna as a good example of such a phenomenon (pp. 29–30), whilst Burandt, despite being aware of the "epidemic potential" of this legion, thinks that it was unlikely that Germania inferior was badly affected by the plague (p. 124). Vlach also mistakenly calls the *collegium* of Mithraists from Virunum a "funerary collegium" (p. 25). While enumerating the sources which indirectly evidenced the impact of the Antonine plague, Kovács accepts the opinion of Richard P. Duncan-Jones and includes the decreasing number of building inscriptions from Italy (p. 39), which in light of the research conducted by Bruun is controversial to say the least[28]. Madejski refers to the eruption of Taupo in the context of natural catastrophes that accompanied the Antonine plague (p. 47)[29], but Vlach points out that this thesis should be rejected since the eruption of Taupo took place in 232 CE (p. 27, n. 62)[30]. Herz, when quoting inscriptions, uses round brackets to explain the abbreviations and at the same time omits all the square brackets, which could be misleading as the readers might think they are looking at a perfectly preserved inscription (see, e.g., p. 52–53). Also, when he discusses the Roman legions that took part in the Marcomannic wars, he is of the opinion that there is no evidence for the participation of legions from Germany in the conflict (p. 57; however, he does not exclude such participation), which contradicts Burandt (p. 123)[31]. Jílek, surprisingly, distinguishes between

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[25] See Ch. Bruun, *Transfer of Property in an Ostian Professional Corpus: Sexti Sextilii and Lucii Iulii among the lenuncularii in CIL XIV 251, and a Possible Effect of the "Antonine Plague"*, Arctos LIV 2020, pp. 26–27 (with further references) for similar doubts in the case of other *collegia*.

[26] R. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 23–25. This subject is a matter of debate which goes beyond the scope of this short review.

[27] Depends on the age; one should remember that two of the five deceased individuals were called *patres* and this high position could correspond with an older age.

[28] R.P. Duncan-Jones, *The Impact of the Antonine Plague*, JRA IX 1996, p. 125–129; Bruun, *op. cit.* (n. 2). This is surprising since Kovács knows the publication of Bruun (see p. 38, n. 20). The same situation applies to James Greenberg (*Plagued by Doubt: Reconsidering the Impact of a Mortality Crisis in the 2nd C. A.D.*, JRA XVI 2003, pp. 413–425), who is mentioned by Kovács in the same note; however, he should also be mentioned, at least briefly, in Kovács' catalogue of sources.

[29] Referring in this case to W. Vetters, *Der Taupo und das Klima um 200 AD in Europa*, in: Friesinger, Tejral, Stuppner, *op. cit*. (n. 3), pp. 457–461.

[30] Referring to A. Hogg *et al*., *Revised Calendar Date for the Taupo Eruption Derived by 14C Wiggle-Matching Using a New Zealand Kauri 14C Calibration Data Set*, The Holocene XXII 2012, pp. 439–449.

[31] However, Burandt bases his opinion on one building inscription of uncertain chronology (see *CIL* XIII 8078 = *AE* 1891, 21).

Germanic and "barbarian" when discussing the excavation of burials (p. 160), and when he refers to the retired centurion Quintus Atilius Primus (p. 161) he does not reveal the source of this information, which is slightly frustrating.

The richly illustrated monograph under review is a very important contribution to the history of the Marcomannic wars. New discoveries, especially in the field of archaeology, shed new light on the logistical aspects of the Roman legions and auxiliaries and the course of armed conflicts, information that is difficult to find in the narrative sources. These discoveries also corrected some older presumptions based on previous archaeological excavations. This monograph should be a starting point for fervent and hopefully fruitful debate among researchers, continuing in the vein that appears, for example, in the final article where Komoróczy *et al*. "throw down the gauntlet" to several other scholars, i.e., Jaroslav Tejral (pp. 203–212, regarding Mušov-Burgstall) and Stefan Groh and Helga Sedlmayer (pp. 216–218, regarding the temporary camp at Engelharstetten). This review does not intend to diminish the importance of the "non-archaeological" papers whose authors attempted, often convincingly, to reinterpret the narrative, epigraphic or numismatic sources and contribute to the ongoing debate. The texts devoted to the Antonine plague leave a certain dissatisfaction in this context. However, it is not easy to come up with new methods of interpretation (or models) that could help us better understand the scale of this phenomenon and the impact it had on local society. This was one of the reasons for Erdrich's pessimistic conviction in his "Summing Up and Looking Forward" (p. 257: "Archaeological research with her ambitions and tools seems to have met her limits here"). Nonetheless, research regarding this topic has not yet come to a dead-end, as the new publication of Vlach shows[32].

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[32] M. Vlach, *The Antonine Plague: Evaluation of its Impact through Epidemiological Modelling*, in: T. Brughmans, A. Wilson (eds.), *Simulating Roman Economies: Theories, Methods, and Computational Models*, Oxford–New York 2022, pp. 69–108.

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Roberto Peressin, *La versione greca dell'orazione "Pro Archia poeta" di Mikołaj Żórawski (1632). Contributi all'edizione e allo studio del testo*, Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020 (Studies in Classical Literature and Culture 9), 312 pp., ISBN 978-3-6318-1210-5, €55.45.

La piccola letteratura composta in greco dagli umanisti occidentali è ancora poco studiata. Fa eccezione però la Polonia, grazie soprattutto ai lavori della bibliotecaria Janina Czerniatowicz. Già nella prima metà dell'Ottocento il Wiszniewski, nella sua grande storia della letteratura polacca, consacrava alcune dense pagine alle opere greche scritte da polacchi[1]; ma è merito della Czerniatowicz d'aver raccolto sistematicamente le opere poetiche greche di polacchi in un *Corpusculum poësis Polono-Graecae*[2]. Questo lavoro è comodissimo, perché consente al ricercatore di trovare in un unico volume componimenti che prima erano disseminati in molti libri antichi. Più di recente, il professor Gościwit Malinowski ha ripreso all'università di Breslavia il lavoro cominciato dalla studiosa polacca.

Il libro oggetto di questa recensione è una tesi di dottorato scritta all'università di Varsavia da Roberto Peressin (= P.), che continua anche lui, a suo modo, il lavoro della Czerniatowicz. Ma, mentre quest'ultima si concentrò sulla poesia e sulla raccolta del corpus, P. ha scelto un testo di prosa e s'è proposto di analizzarlo in modo approfondito. Si tratta di una traduzione greca della *Pro Archia*, stampata nel 1632. Il suo autore si chiama Niccolò Zoravio (Mikołaj Żórawski, 1595–1665). Prima di lasciare la carriera di professore all'accademia di Cracovia per quella più lucrativa di medico e astrologo alla corte di Varsavia, egli volle pubblicare questo frutto dei suoi studi classici. Era concepito come un modello per gli studenti, che, secondo i precetti degli antichi, si esercitavano *in utraque lingua* traducendo Cicerone in greco demostenico, come anche traducevano Demostene in latino ciceroniano. Tali sono anche certe traduzioni lasciate dal Turnebo, o dal Petavio, *si parva licet componere magnis*.

Il libro di P. è diviso in due parti principali: la prima contiene notizie storico-letterarie che mirano a far luce sul contesto nel quale lo Zoravio scrisse la sua operetta, la seconda contiene l'operetta stessa, accompagnata da una ricca analisi. Seguono alcune pagine di conclusioni e varie appendici.

Nella prima parte l'autore raccoglie diverse notizie su temi come il ritorno del greco in Europa occidentale, la storia della traduzione o la fortuna di Cicerone in Polonia. Queste notizie non sembrano sempre assolutamente necessarie alla comprensione della seconda parte, e per lo più riassumono cose già note, ma sono di lettura gradevole. Vi sono poi delle eccezioni, come la sezione dedicata alla biografia dello Zoravio (pp. 58–72), che è un vero progresso rispetto alla letteratura anteriore. Manca solo la menzione di una lettera dello Zoravio a Leone Allacci (approfittiamo dell'occasione offertaci da questa recensione per curarne l'edizione in questo fascicolo di "Eos":

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[1] Michał Wiszniewski, *Historya literatury polskiej*, t. VI, Kraków 1844, pp. 185–189. L'opera di cui tratta il libro qui recensito è menzionata alla pagina 185.

[2] Janina Czerniatowicz, *Corpusculum poësis Polono-Graecae saeculorum XVI–XVII: (1531–1648)*. Collegit, edidit, praefatione instruxit, annotationibus illustravit ..., Wrocław 1991. Notiamo anche che di recente Filippomaria Pontani e Stefan Weise assieme a vari studiosi europei hanno pubblicato un'antologia bilingue intitolata *The Hellenizing Muse. A European Anthology of Poetry in Ancient Greek from the Renaissance to the Present*, Berlin–Boston 2022. Le pagine 604–647 contengono una scelta di carmi greci scritti nel territorio dell'antica "repubblica delle due nazioni", cioè in Polonia e in Lituania. Questa sezione è opera di Tomas Veteikis in collaborazione con Gościwit Malinowski e Bartosz Awianowicz.

vedi sopra, pp. 235–240). Inoltre certe sezioni presentano informazioni note prima solo dalla bibliografia in lingua polacca, e perciò risultano molto utili per gli studiosi stranieri. Più in generale, uno dei meriti di questo libro è di essere scritto in italiano, in modo che tutti gli eruditi non solo in Polonia, ma anche all'estero siano in grado di leggerlo. Per di più, come dicevo sopra, è scritto in maniera chiara e gradevole. Rispetto allo stile, avrei solo un piccolo rimprovero da fare, sulla forma dei nomi propri. L'autore preferisce di solito le forme polacche a quelle italiane, e dà veste polacca anche a nomi di persone o località tedesche. Così, può fare un'impressione un poco bizzarra al lettore di vedere scritto "Jerzy Libanus" (per es. a p. 53), invece di "Giorgio Libano", o almeno "Georgius Libanus"[3]. E la forma polacca "Jerzy Liban", o "Jerzy Libanus", per quanto strana in un libro italiano, è forse difendibile nel caso di un umanista d'origine tedesca, ma polacco. Invece, che dobbiamo dire di "Królewiec" (p. 54)? In questo caso, direi che la cosa noccia anche alla chiarezza: infatti, quanti lettori fuori della Polonia saranno in grado di riconoscere sotto questo nome polacco Königsberg (l'odierna Kaliningrad)?

Nella seconda parte è riprodotta, assieme al testo ciceroniano, la traduzione dello Zoravio. Questa è conosciuta da una sola copia, conservata nella biblioteca dell'Accademia polacca delle scienze di Danzica. Fino a pochi anni fa, si credeva che fosse andata perduta, e se ne aveva notizia solo da quel che ne dicono alcuni studiosi dell'Ottocento[4]. È stato dunque utile pubblicarla qui. L'editore ne ha emendato il testo, e l'ha corredato di un ricco commento filologico. Il greco dello Zoravio, diciamolo chiaramente, è catastrofico, e l'editore lo dimostra, elencando pazientemente gli errori: barbarismi, confusioni nell'uso delle diatesi, latinismi, usi erronei dell'articolo, forme epico-ioniche o parole rarissime, tutto viene notato. L'indefesso commentatore meriterebbe il soprannome di Calcèntero, per questo lavoro su un testo così poco piacevole. Grazie all'analisi delle scelte di traduzione, P. perviene anche a stabilire con qualche probabilità quali lessici il traduttore abbia usato.

Il libro si conclude con due utili appendici. La prima contiene un fac-simile della stampa secentesca, o piuttosto della parte che contiene il testo bilingue dell'orazione di Cicerone (purtroppo, l'inizio del libro non è stato riprodotto, sicché il lettore non può leggere né l'epistola dedicatoria né l'esortazione di Niccolò Zoravio agli studenti[5]). L'altra appendice è un indice delle parole latine della *Pro Archia* seguite da quelle greche usate dall'umanista polacco per tradurle.

In conclusione, abbiamo qui un valido contributo non solo alla conoscenza della letteratura composta in greco da polacchi, ma anche alla storia degli studi greci in Polonia. Ci viene qui riproposto un testo curioso che era dimenticato. Più d'un filologo classico, di fronte ai suoi solecismi, l'avrebbe disprezzato. Il merito del lavoro di P. è proprio di evitare tale atteggiamento classicistico e di studiare in modo approfondito questa traduzione. Ellenisti di prim'ordine come il Poliziano, Martino Crusio, Enrico Stefano, Giuseppe Giusto Scaligero o Gioacchino Camerario sono certamente interessanti, ma sono eccezionali. Sono umanisti minori come un Niccolò Zoravio che ci aiutano a capir meglio l'ellenista medio, e in questo caso l'ellenista medio nella Polonia del Seicento. Era una terra di latinisti e, mentre la larga diffusione della conoscenza del latino nel

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[3] Il vero nome di Giorgio Libano (pronunciato sdrucciolo), umanista slesiano, era Georg Weihrauch. Siccome *der Weihrauch* significa in tedesco "l'incenso" (in greco ὁ λίβανος), e siccome il nome proprio *Libanus* è attestato nella letteratura latina antica, egli scelse di farsi chiamare in latino *Georgius Libanus*.

[4] Cfr. Janina Czerniatowicz, *Poezja polsko-grecka w XVI i XVII w.*, Eos LXXII 1984, p. 205.

[5] Manca anche la curiosa parte del volume che contiene il Paternostro tradotto in vari dialetti greci dallo Zoravio; ma è stata riprodotta e analizzata dallo stesso P. nel suo articolo *The Lord's Prayer in Six Greek Dialects. A Curious Variation on a Renaissance Linguistic Topic*, Language and Literary Studies of Warsaw VI 2016, pp. 187–210. Notiamo inoltre che gli studiosi interessati alla produzione greca dello Zoravio potranno leggere una sua poesia ristampata e commentata da Czerniatowicz, *Corpusculum*... (n. 2), pp. 184–186, e da Veteikis, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 639–643.

paese sorprendeva spesso gli stranieri, almeno a Cracovia il livello degli studi di greco era allora molto basso. L'analisi filologica di P. lo dimostra. Se infatti questo era il professore, quanto greco potevano sapere i suoi studenti?

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NOWA FORMUŁA EGZAMINU MATURALNEGO Z JĘZYKA ŁACIŃSKIEGO I KULTURY ANTYCZNEJ

1. WYMAGANIA EGZAMINACYJNE

Wraz z wprowadzeniem w polskim systemie kształcenia ogólnego 4-letniego liceum uległy zmianie ramowe plany nauczania[1] oraz podstawa programowa[2]. W przypadku języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej początkowo zachowano status przedmiotu realizowanego wyłącznie w zakresie rozszerzonym w wymiarze 8h w cyklu kształcenia. W 2020 r. wprowadzony został jednak również przedmiot język łaciński i kultura antyczna realizowany w zakresie podstawowym[3], ale nie wchodzi on w zakres wymagań egzaminacyjnych. Podstawa programowa dla zakresu rozszerzonego nie jest kontynuacją ani rozwinięciem podstawy programowej dla zakresu podstawowego. Język łaciński i kultura antyczna w zakresie podstawowym i w zakresie rozszerzonym to *de facto* dwa różne przedmioty, o różnym statusie, różnych celach kształcenia i wymaganiach ogólnych i mogą być realizowane niezależnie od siebie. Konsekwencją tych zmian było opracowanie i wdrożenie nowej formuły egzaminów maturalnych[4]. Zgodnie z przywołanymi aktami prawnymi egzamin maturalny z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej w formule 2023 może być zdawany wyłącznie na poziomie

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[1] Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z 28 marca 2017 r. w sprawie ramowych planów nauczania dla publicznych szkół, Dz. U. z 2017 r., poz. 703 ze zm.

[2] Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 30 stycznia 2018 r. w sprawie podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego dla liceum ogólnokształcącego, technikum oraz branżowej szkoły II stopnia, Dz. U. z 2018 r., poz. 467 ze zm.

[3] Przedmiot realizowany wyłącznie w klasie pierwszej szkoły ponadpodstawowej, w wymiarze lh w cyklu kształcenia, wybierany przez dyrektora szkoły spośród czterech możliwości: filozofia, plastyka, muzyka, język łaciński i kultura antyczna. Zob. Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 3 kwietnia 2019 r. w sprawie ramowych planów nauczania dla publicznych szkół, Dz. U. z 2019 r., poz. 639 ze zm.

[4] Podstawę prawną, regulującą zasady przeprowadzania egzaminu maturalnego w formule 2023, stanowią dwa rozporządzenia: Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji i Nauki z dnia 26 lutego 2021 r. w sprawie egzaminu maturalnego, Dz. U. z 2021 r., poz. 482 oraz Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji i Nauki z dnia 1 sierpnia 2022 r. w sprawie egzaminu maturalnego, Dz. U. z 2022 r., poz. 1644.

rozszerzonym, a wymagania egzaminacyjne są tożsame z wymaganiami określonymi w podstawie programowej dla zakresu rozszerzonego[5]. Dzielą się one na trzy grupy wymagań: w zakresie kompetencji językowych, interkulturowych oraz społecznych[6].

Głównym celem w zakresie kompetencji językowych, a zatem także najważniejszym wymaganiem egzaminacyjnym, jest znajomość gramatyki oraz umiejętność rozumienia i tłumaczenia tekstu łacińskiego, przy czym w procesie egzaminacyjnym nie mogą zostać wykorzystane teksty łacińskie spoza kanonu określonego w podstawie programowej. Wymagania dotyczące kompetencji interkulturowej skupione zostały wokół znajomości oraz umiejętnościach rozumienia i interpretacji najważniejszych faktów, zjawisk i tekstów kultury antycznej oraz wpływu tradycji grecko-rzymskiej na kultury późniejsze. W podstawie programowej zdefiniowany został zamknięty katalog treści dotyczących: mitologii, historii starożytnej, literatury greckiej i rzymskiej, filozofii, spuścizny materialnej, życia publicznego i prywatnego w starożytnej Grecji i Rzymie oraz recepcji antyku. Wymagania w zakresie kompetencji społecznych podzielić można na dwie podgrupy: takie, które podlegają walidacji w trakcie procesu egzaminacyjnego, np. umiejętność dostrzegania znaczenie języka łacińskiego oraz kultury starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu dla kultury polskiej, europejskiej i światowej lub umiejętność wskazywania i interpretacji elementów tradycji antycznej obecnych we współczesnym świecie, oraz takie, które określić można jako metakompetencje i które nie podlegają walidacji egzaminacyjnej, a odnoszą się do świadomości antycznych źródeł cywilizacji europejskiej, świadomego uczestnictwa w kulturze, wagi systematyczności w uczeniu się czy też nabierania umiejętności szybkiego praktycznego zastosowania i ćwiczenia nowo nabytej wiedzy[7].

W kontekście wymagań egzaminacyjnych wspomnieć należy także o zmianach, które mają obowiązywać w latach 2023 i 2024. Z powodu skutków edukacyjnych pandemii koronawirusa SARS-CoV-2 i wdrożonego czasowo w szkołach nauczania zdalnego postanowiono ograniczyć wymagania zawarte w podstawie programowej i wprowadzić ograniczony katalog treści kształcenia obowiązujący

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[5] Nowelizacja rozporządzenia w sprawie podstawy programowej dokonana w 2020 r. nie wprowadza żadnych zmian w odniesieniu do zakresu rozszerzonego przedmiotu język łaciński i kultura antyczna. Jest to rozporządzenie wprowadzające zakres podstawowy. Por. Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 24 czerwca 2020 r. zmieniające rozporządzenie w sprawie podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego dla liceum ogólnokształcącego, technikum oraz branżowej szkoły II stopnia, Dz. U. z 2020 r., poz. 1248.

[6] Zob. Podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego z komentarzem. Szkoła ponadpodstawowa. Język łaciński i kultura antyczna, materiały dostępne na stronie internetowej Ośrodka Rozwoju Edukacji: https://www.ore.edu.pl/2018/03/podstawa-programowa-ksztalcenia-ogolnego-dla-liceum-technikum-i-branzowej-szkoly-ii-stopnia/ (dostęp 9.05.2023 r.).

[7] Więcej informacji na temat wymagań ogólnych i szczegółowych, określonych w podstawie programowej, można znaleźć w: J. Ryba, *Języki klasyczne i kultura antyczna w zreformowanym liceum ogólnokształcącym*, Eos CVI 2019, s. 319–322.

w sesjach egzaminacyjnych 2023 i 2024[8]. W zakresie kompetencji językowych usunięte zostały lub zawężone wymagania odnoszące się do znajomości form i struktur gramatycznych, które są rzadkie, nieregularne i oboczne oraz mogą być zastąpione innymi odpowiednikami syntaktycznymi i semantycznymi lub objaśnione pod tekstem. W zakresie kompetencji kulturowych usunięto niektóre wymagania, a inne zawężono do najbardziej reprezentatywnych przykładów, ilustrujących poszczególne zagadnienia kulturowe i niezbędnych do weryfikacji stopnia opanowania przez zdających wymagań szczegółowych z zakresu kultury starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu. W zakresie kompetencji społecznych zrezygnowano z wymagań, których nie da się zweryfikować w procesie egzaminacyjnym. Ponadto w niewielkim wymiarze ograniczony został kanon tekstów. Usunięte zostały te teksty, których rozumienie i przekład wymaga pogłębionej, często nawet wykraczającej poza wymagania podstawy programowej, wiedzy na temat kontekstu historyczno-literackiego. Od 2025 r. egzamin maturalny w formule 2023 będzie przeprowadzany na podstawie pełnych wymagań określonych w podstawie programowej kształcenia ogólnego.

2. STRUKTURA ARKUSZA EGZAMINACYJNEGO I TYPY ZADAŃ

Struktura arkusza egzaminacyjnego opisana została w dostępnym na stronie internetowej Centralnej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej *Informatorze o egzaminie maturalnym z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej od roku szkolnego 2022/2023*[9]. Publikacja ta zawiera krótkie wprowadzenie na temat nowej formuły egzaminu oraz przykładowe zadania egzaminacyjne, do których przyporządkowane zostały konkretne wymagania ogólne i szczegółowe zawarte w podstawie programowej. Zamieszczone zostały także rozwiązania, w tym także przykłady niestandardowych możliwości ich realizacji, oraz schemat punktowania. Dzięki temu *Informator* stanowi ważne opracowanie pomocnicze zarówno dla uczniów przygotowujących się do egzaminu maturalnego z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej, jak i dla nauczycieli poszukujących praktycznych wskazówek do pracy z maturzystami.

Arkusz egzaminacyjny w formule 2023 składa się z trzech części: tłumaczenie tekstu wraz z zadaniami do tłumaczonego tekstu, test kulturowo-gramatyczny i zadania interpretacyjne. Maksymalna liczba punktów możliwych do uzyskania za rozwiązanie całego arkusza wynosi 50, a szczegółowy udział procentowy poszczególnych części przedstawia poniższa tabela.

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[8] Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji i Nauki z dnia 10 czerwca 2022 r. w sprawie wymagań egzaminacyjnych dla egzaminu maturalnego przeprowadzanego w roku szkolnym 2022/2023 i 2023/2024, Dz. U. z 2022 r., poz. 1246.

[9] https://cke.gov.pl/images/_EGZAMIN_MATURALNY_OD_2023/Informatory/Informator_jezyk_lacinski_kultura_antyczna.pdf (dostęp: 9.05.2023 r.).

ARKUSZ EGZAMINACYJNY W FORMULE 2023	
CZĘŚĆ ARKUSZA	UDZIAŁ PROCENTOWY
tłumaczenie tekstu	50%
zadania do tłumaczonego tekstu	10%
test kulturowo-gramatyczny	20%
zadania interpretacyjne	20%

W nowej formule określona została także liczba poszczególnych zadań oraz przypisana im wartość punktowa: 1 zadanie translacyjne (łącznie 25 punktów), 3–5 zadań do tłumaczonego tekstu (łącznie 5 punktów), 6–10 zadań w teście kulturowo-gramatycznym (10 punktów) i 2 zadania interpretacyjne (10 punktów). Łącznie więc arkusz egzaminacyjny w nowej formule może zawierać od 12 do 18 zadań[10]. Z typologicznego puntu widzenia zadania egzaminacyjne można podzielić na dwie grupy: interlingwalne i intralingwalne.

Zadania interlingwalne to takie, w których zdający dekodują i kodują komunikaty i treści w języku łacińskim i polskim. Zadania intralingwalne natomiast polegają na wykonywaniu operacji językowych w obrębie jednego języka. Ze względu na specyfikę przedmiotu, prymat sprawności receptywnych i znaczne ograniczenie produktywnych, w arkuszu egzaminacyjnym z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej nie mogą pojawić się zadania polegające na dekodowaniu komunikatów językowych w formie audialnej, a pisemny charakter egzaminu wyklucza produkcję w formie fonicznej. W obrębie każdej grupy w arkuszu egzaminacyjnym znaleźć mogą się zadania otwarte i zamknięte. W zadaniach otwartych zdający samodzielnie formułują odpowiedzi, podczas gdy w zadaniach zamkniętych dokonują wyboru i wskazują prawidłowe rozwiązanie spośród podanych możliwości.

2.1. TŁUMACZENIE TEKSTU I ZADANIA DO TŁUMACZONEGO TEKSTU

Tłumaczenie tekstu to zadanie interlingwalne otwarte. Polega ono na dokonaniu, z wykorzystaniem słownika łacińsko-polskiego, przekładu tekstu łacińskiego na język polski. W tłumaczeniu zdający muszą zachować normy poprawnościowe języka polskiego. Rozwiązując zadanie translacyjne dekodują więc łacińskojęzyczny komunikat w formie graficznej i w takiej samej formie produkują tekst polskojęzyczny, który ma charakter informacyjny, a nie komunikacyjny.

[10] Dla porównania, w arkuszu egzaminacyjnym w formule 2015 maksymalna liczba punktów możliwych do uzyskania wynosiła 60, w tym: 30 za tłumaczenie tekstu, 15 za test kulturowy i leksykalno-gramatyczny, oparty w całości na tematyce i słownictwie oryginalnego tekstu łacińskiego, 15 za wypracowanie z zakresu kultury antycznej, którego temat również musiał nawiązywać do tematyki tłumaczonego tekstu łacińskiego.

Tekst łaciński o długości 90–120 słów nie może wykraczać poza kanon określony w podstawie programowej[11]. Nie musi być jednak tekstem oryginalnym, nowa formuła dopuszcza możliwość stosowania w procesie egzaminacyjnym tekstów autentycznych. Autentyczny tekst dydaktyczny (w tym egzaminacyjny) to taki, który oparty jest na tekście oryginalnym, ale zostały w nim wprowadzone zmiany polegające na usunięciu wybranych fragmentów lub uproszczeniu struktury gramatycznej i składniowej, z zachowaniem jednak tematyki, słownictwa i idiomatyki tekstu oryginalnego. Zadanie translacyjne w procesie egzaminacyjnym stosowane jest w celu sprawdzenia znajomości gramatyki języka łacińskiego (rozpoznawanie i tłumaczenie występujących w tekście form morfologicznych oraz struktur składniowych), umiejętności tłumaczenia tekstu łacińskiego (sporządzania przekładu poprawnego pod względem językowym) oraz umiejętności doboru, w przypadku wyrazów wieloznacznych, znaczenia odpowiedniego dla kontekstu i tematyki tłumaczonego tekstu.

Zadania do tłumaczonego tekstu łacińskiego mogą mieć charakter językowy lub kulturowy. Zadania językowe oparte są na leksyce zawartej w tekście, a ich głównym zadaniem jest sprawdzenie umiejętności rozpoznawania i tworzenia form morfologicznych oraz dokonywania transformacji w zakresie fleksji i struktur składniowych. Są to więc zadania intralingwalne, przede wszystkim otwarte. Druga wiązka obejmuje zadania kulturowe, które stosowane są w celu weryfikacji stopnia opanowania kompetencji interkulturowej, w tym przede wszystkim znajomości kluczowych zjawisk z zakresu kultury antycznej. Zadania te powinny być skonstruowane w taki sposób, aby odnosiły się do szeroko rozumianego kontekstu kulturowego. Pojawić się więc mogą tutaj zadania związane z tematyką tłumaczonego tekstu, życiem i twórczością autora lub kontekstem historyczno-literackim dzieła, z którego pochodzi fragment, na podstawie którego opracowany został tekst egzaminacyjny. Wiązka zadań kulturowych sformułowana jest w całości w języku polskim, w formie zadań zamkniętych lub otwartych. W zadaniach do tłumaczonego tekstu otwartych zdający udzielają odpowiedzi w języku polskim (zadania kulturowe) lub łacińskim (zadania językowe).

2.2. TEST GRAMATYCZNO-KULTUROWY

Podstawowym założeniem tej części arkusza egzaminacyjnego jest to, że zadania zarówno językowe, jak i kulturowe nie są związane z tłumaczonym tekstem łacińskim. Ich głównym celem jest sprawdzenie wiedzy i umiejętności z zakresu kompetencji językowych, kulturowych i społecznych. Pojawić się więc mogą tutaj zadania związane ze znajomością gramatyki łacińskiej (przede wszystkim rozpoznawanie oraz tworzenie form morfologicznych i struktur składniowych, dokonywanie transformacji i przekształceń w obrębie fleksji i składni), wszystkich

[11] W poprzedniej formule 2015 nie obowiązywał żaden ograniczony kanon tekstów. Tekst łaciński do tłumaczenia miał podobną długość (100–120 słów), jednak musiał mieć charakter oryginalny.

obszarów z zakresu kultury grecko-rzymskiej, określonych w podstawie programowej (mitologia, historia, historia literatury, filozofia, kultura materialna, życie publiczne i prywatne) oraz recepcji antyku (przede wszystkim dostrzeganie i wskazywanie wpływów języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej na kulturę współczesną, interpretacja tekstów kultury odnoszących się do antyku). Zadania egzaminacyjne mogą mieć charakter zamknięty lub otwarty, interlingwalny lub intralingwalny. Może się w nich znaleźć także materiał ikonograficzny, ilustrujący zjawiska z zakresu kultury antycznej i jej recepcji. Ponadto rozwiązując tę część arkusza zdający powinni wykazać się umiejętnościami analizy zjawisk językowych i kulturowych, ich interpretacji uwzględniającej właściwy kontekst kulturowy, porównywania treści sformułowanych w języku łacińskim i polskim oraz dostrzegania kontynuacji i nawiązań do antyku występujących w języku polskim, kulturze współczesnej i przestrzeni publicznej.

2.3. ZADANIA INTERPRETACYJNE

Największą innowacją w arkuszu egzaminacyjnym w formule 2023 jest wprowadzenie dwóch, niezwiązanych tematycznie z tłumaczonym tekstem, zadań interpretacyjnych, które zastąpiły dotychczasowe wypracowanie. Argumentem przemawiającym za tym były wnioski wynikające z analizy wyników egzaminu w formule 2015[12], obserwacji członków zespołu egzaminatorów sprawdzających i oceniających arkusze oraz z opinii samych zdających, którzy wskazywali na niewystarczające dostosowanie liczby i długości zadań egzaminacyjnych do czasu trwania egzaminu. Na napisanie wypracowania zdający poświęcali mało czasu, przez co ich wypowiedzi często były chaotyczne, niestaranne, w wielu przypadkach niepoprawne merytorycznie lub ograniczone jedynie do pobieżnej analizy zamieszczonych w zadaniu tekstów źródłowych.

W zadaniach interpretacyjnych, z których każde ma wartość 5 punktów, nie oczekuje się od zdających formułowania długich wypowiedzi, ale sprawdzana i oceniana jest poprawność językowa odpowiedzi udzielanych w języku polskim. Głównym ich celem jest sprawdzenie wiedzy i umiejętności w zakresie:

– rozumienia i interpretacji tekstów kultury odnoszących się do antyku, z uwzględnieniem właściwego kontekstu kulturowego,
– umiejętności rozpoznawania i wskazywania obecności antyku w kulturze epok późniejszych,
– rozumienia i interpretacji zjawisk językowych i kulturowych związanych z obecnością lub przetworzeniem antyku w kulturze współczesnej,
– dostrzegania uniwersalnego charakteru motywów antycznych i sentencji łacińskich oraz wskazywania możliwości ich zastosowania w różnych dziedzinach współczesnego życia.

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[12] Sprawozdania dotyczące wyników egzaminu maturalnego w poszczególnych sesjach egzaminacyjnych dostępne są na stronie internetowej Centralnej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej: https://cke.gov.pl/egzamin-maturalny/egzamin-maturalny-w-formule-2015/wyniki/ (dostęp: 9.06.2023 r.).

Zadania te odnoszą się więc przede wszystkim do kwestii związanych z recepcją, żywotnością motywów antycznych oraz obecnością języka łacińskiego i elementów spuścizny grecko-rzymskiego antyku w kulturze nowożytnej. Jedno z zadań dotyczy tłumaczenia i interpretacji dewizy łacińskiej, a drugie związane jest z opisem, analizą i interpretacją materiału ikonograficznego przedstawiającego scenę historyczną lub mitologiczną. Schemat punktowania zadań interpretacyjnych przedstawia poniższe zestawienie[13].

Tłumaczenie i interpretacja dewizy		Opis, analiza i interpretacja sceny	
Elementy podlegające ocenie:	pkt	Elementy podlegające ocenie:	pkt
Poprawne tłumaczenie dewizy.	1	Poprawne opisanie sceny wraz z rozpoznaniem kluczowych postaci.	1
Prawidłowa interpretacja dewizy.	1	Rozpoznanie i wskazanie mitu, do którego nawiązuje źródło.	1
Wyjaśnienie uniwersalnego charakteru dewizy.	1	Interpretacja źródła we właściwym kontekście kulturowym.	1
Wskazanie dziedziny życia, w której podana dewiza może mieć zastosowanie, wraz z uzasadnieniem swojego stanowiska.	1	Wyjaśnienie uniwersalnego przekazu sceny.	1
Spójna forma wypowiedzi i poprawność językowa.	1	Spójna forma wypowiedzi i poprawność językowa.	1
SUMA	5	SUMA	5

Prawidłowe rozwiązanie zadań z tej części arkusza wymaga od zdających analizy zjawisk językowych i kulturowych. W obydwu zadaniach, poza znajomością języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej, niezwykle istotne są umiejętności związane z formułowaniem wniosków na podstawie analizy dewizy łacińskiej i materiału ikonograficznego oraz konstruowania logicznej i poprawnej pod względem językowym wypowiedzi w języku polskim. W tym aspekcie należy podkreślić formalno-kształcący, propedeutyczny charakter przedmiotu język łaciński i kultura antyczna. W komentarzu do podstawy programowej, autorstwa Aleksandry Klęczar, możemy przeczytać, że „przedmiot ten ma charakter *stricte* edukacyjny, lecz także formacyjny, jako że pozwala uczniowi na pogłębioną refleksję nad człowiekiem i kulturą oraz nad kulturotwórczą rolą tradycji języka. Jednocześnie kształci on sprawność i umiejętność myślenia krytycznego oraz wypracowuje sprawności językowe, związane z uzyskiwaniem biegłości zarówno w języku łacińskim (w zakresie rozumienia tekstów i znajomości reguł gramatycznych

[13] Opracowano na podstawie informacji dostępnych w *Informatorze o egzaminie maturalnym z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej od roku szkolnego 2022/2023*, s. 40–48.

języka), jak i w języku ojczystym (umiejętności translatorskie, tworzenie wypowiedzi komentujących i analizujących zjawiska językowe i kulturowe). W tym sensie nauczanie języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej ma charakter ogólnohumanistyczny i przyczynia się do harmonijnego i szeroko rozumianego rozwoju intelektualnego ucznia”[14].

3. FAZA PRZYGOTOWAWCZA, TESTOWANIE NOWEJ FORMUŁY EGZAMINU I SZKOLENIA DLA NAUCZYCIELI

Wprowadzenie nowej formuły egzaminu poprzedzone było szeregiem działań przygotowawczych, z których najważniejsze to opracowanie i opublikowanie *Informatora*, przygotowanie arkusza pokazowego oraz materiałów ćwiczeniowych, w tym arkusza próbnego. Wszystkie te materiały i ogólne informacje dotyczące egzaminów maturalnych w formule 2023 dostępne są na stronie internetowej Centralnej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej. Ważnym aspektem były także szkolenia dla nauczycieli i egzaminatorów[15]. Spośród działań przygotowawczych wspomnieć należy również o testowaniu zadań, które zostało przeprowadzone w grupie uczniów I Liceum Ogólnokształcącego im. Bartłomieja Nowodworskiego w Krakowie[16]. Wnioski płynące z tych testów wykorzystane zostały do dopracowania koncepcji nowej formuły egzaminu oraz do przygotowania materiałów szkoleniowych dla nauczycieli.

Testy diagnostyczne jednoznacznie pokazały, że dla uczniów najtrudniejsze były zadania gramatyczne, w tym przede wszystkim transformacje zdań. Uczniowie w zadaniach otwartych nieprawidłowo rozpoznawali struktury składniowe i formy morfologiczne, tworzyli niepoprawne formy fleksyjne, źle przekształcali zdania lub w wielu przypadkach nie udzielali odpowiedzi. W zadaniach zamkniętych z kolei duża liczba odpowiedzi udzielona została w sposób losowy i przypadkowy. Wiele problemów i błędnych rozwiązań pojawiło się także w przypadku zadania translacyjnego. Tłumaczenie tekstu jest czasochłonne i wymagające. Uczniowie nie radzili sobie z rozpoznawaniem występujących

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[14] *Podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego z komentarzem. Szkoła ponadpodstawowa. Język łaciński i kultura antyczna*, s. 103.

[15] Odbyły się między innymi: zorganizowane przez Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji szkolenie „Egzamin maturalny – zmiany w wymaganiach egzaminacyjnych w roku 2023” (październik 2022 r.), zorganizowane przez Okręgową Komisję Egzaminacyjną w Łodzi szkolenie „Egzamin maturalny z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej. Formuła 2023” (kwiecień 2023 r.) i koordynowane przez OKE w Łodzi szkolenie dla kandydatów na egzaminatorów z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej, w którym mogli wziąć udział nauczyciele zainteresowani uzyskaniem uprawnień egzaminatora (kwiecień 2023 r.).

[16] Testy diagnostyczne zostały przeprowadzone dwukrotnie: w listopadzie 2020 r. i w grudniu 2022 r. w grupie uczniów trzeciej i czwartej klasy, realizujących podstawę programową 4-letniego liceum. W listopadzie 2020 r. wykorzystane zostały zadania zawarte w *Informatorze*, a w grudniu 2022 r. arkusz próbny, udostępniony przez CKE.

w tekście form i struktur gramatycznych albo źle je tłumaczyli. Częstym problemem było nieprawidłowe identyfikowanie i wyszukiwanie w słowniku form podstawowych słów lub dobieranie nieodpowiednich w danym kontekście polskich ekwiwalentów znaczeniowych. Ponadto nie wszystkie przekłady były sformułowane poprawnie pod względem językowym i nie zawsze w pełni oddana została treść tekstu łacińskiego. Oznacza to, że poza ewidentnymi błędami wynikającymi z niewystarczającej znajomości gramatyki, uczniowie mieli problem z praktycznym zastosowaniem podstawowych zasad techniki tłumaczenia tekstu. Nie zawsze też odpowiednio łączyli poszczególne frazy i nie rozpoznawali kontekstu kulturowego tłumaczonego tekstu, przez co zdarzały się przekłady niespójne lub nielogiczne. W uzyskanych w teście diagnostycznym danych nie było przekładów całkowicie niepoprawnych. W wielu przypadkach uczniowie prawidłowo tłumaczyli pojedyncze frazy, ale nie potrafili stworzyć spójnego tekstu ciągłego, w którym oddana byłaby treść i sens tekstu łacińskiego. Znacznie lepiej uczniowie poradzili sobie z zadaniami kulturowymi i interpretacyjnymi. W zadaniach z testu gramatyczno-kulturowego niepoprawne odpowiedzi zdarzały się rzadko, głównie w zadaniach otwartych, i spowodowane były prawdopodobnie brakiem znajomości wszystkich treści określonych w podstawie programowej. W zadaniach interpretacyjnych uczniowie często nie uwzględniali w swoich odpowiedziach uniwersalnego przekazu dewizy i sceny oraz podawali błędne lub nielogiczne uzasadnienie swojego stanowiska. W wypowiedziach zdarzały się błędy językowe. Rzadkie natomiast były pomyłki w tłumaczeniu dewizy lub opisywaniu sceny. Uczniowie nie zgłaszali problemów z brakiem czasu na rozwiązanie wszystkich zadań.

4. REKOMENDACJE DLA NAUCZYCIELI

Na podstawie dotychczasowych działań podjętych w sprawie wdrażania nowej formuły egzaminu maturalnego można sformułować kilka rekomendacji dla nauczycieli przygotowujących uczniów do egzaminu z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej. Po pierwsze należy w pracy dydaktycznej szczególną uwagę zwracać na kształtowanie i rozwijanie kompetencji translacyjnej uczniów. Zalecane ćwiczenia powinny być ukierunkowane na tworzenie poprawnego przekładu, pracę ze słownikiem łacińsko-polskim i doskonalenie umiejętności rozpoznawania i tłumaczenia poszczególnych form morfologicznych i typowych dla gramatyki łacińskiej struktur składniowych. Przygotowując uczniów do egzaminu należy wykorzystywać przede wszystkim materiały udostępniane przez Centralną Komisję Egzaminacyjną. Pomocne będą również dostępne na rynku wydawniczym podręczniki i inne publikacje zawierające materiały dodatkowe[17].

[17] Na przykład: J. Ryba, E. Wolanin, *Arkusze maturalne. Język łaciński i kultura antyczna*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Draco, 2023.

W przypadku opracowywania własnych materiałów i tekstów dydaktycznych należy uwzględnić kanon zawarty w podstawie programowej. Druga rekomendacja dotyczy kompetencji gramatycznej uczniów. Zaleca się stosowanie zróżnicowanych typologicznie ćwiczeń językowych, ułatwiających uczniom zapamiętywanie paradygmatów odmian, zrozumienie zasad użycia struktur składniowych oraz wykorzystywanie w praktyce zmemoryzowanych form i struktur. Doskonalona powinna być również umiejętność dokonywania transformacji gramatycznych, szczególnie w zakresie modelowych i typowych przykładów przekształceń. W doborze zakresu zagadnień pomocne będą zapisy podstawy programowej, która zawiera zamknięty katalog treści językowych.

Trzecia rekomendacja dotyczy nauczania kultury antycznej. Chociaż uczniowie lepiej radzą sobie z zadaniami z zakresu kultury, to jednak trzeba zwrócić uwagę, że relatywnie słabo wypadają zadania dotyczące historii, mimo że poziom szczegółowości pytań nie jest wysoki. Trzeba uwzględnić głębszą korelację treści nauczanych na lekcjach języka łacińskiego i innych przedmiotów humanistycznych, w tym przede wszystkim historii, języka polskiego, filozofii, itp. Szersze spojrzenie na kulturę antyczną i znajomość kontekstu historycznego i kulturowego ułatwi uczniom rozwiązywanie także innych zadań, w tym tłumaczenie tekstu łacińskiego. W procesie nauczania należy zwracać również uwagę na analizę i twórczą interpretację materiałów źródłowych, w tym ikonograficznych. Materiały źródłowe powinny stanowić punkt wyjścia do zaprezentowania przez zdających szerszego kontekstu kulturowego, uwzględniającego nie tylko wiedzę z zakresu kultury antycznej, ale także recepcję antyku i umiejętność dostrzegania i wskazywania związków językowych i kulturowych współczesnej kultury i polszczyzny z dziedzictwem grecko-rzymskiego antyku.

Ostatnie zalecenie nie dotyczy nauczanych treści *sensu stricto*, ale pewnych umiejętności związanych ze strategiami rozwiązywania zadań egzaminacyjnych. Należy zwracać uczniom uwagę na precyzyjne czytanie poleceń i rozwiązywanie zadań, zaczynając od przykładów typowych. Część popełnianych błędów wynika bowiem z braku uwagi i należytej dokładności. Precyzja i staranność szczególnie istotne są w rozwiązywaniu zadań gramatycznych i w tłumaczeniu tekstu. Przy sprawdzaniu i ocenianiu odpowiedzi uczniów powinny być brane pod uwagę także niestandardowe realizacje, o ile spełniają warunki określone w poleceniu zadania i są poprawne merytorycznie.

Adekwatność i skuteczność zastosowanych w nowej formule zadań będzie można ocenić najwcześniej po trzech latach. Wydaje się jednak, że wprowadzone zmiany sprawiają, że liczba i obszerność zadań jest lepiej dostosowana do czasu trwania egzaminu. Zmiana formuły egzaminu była także okazją do zorganizowania szkoleń dla egzaminatorów i kandydatów na egzaminatorów, co nie zdarza się często. Jednym z największych problemów egzaminu maturalnego z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej jest niewielka

liczba zdających[18]. W takiej sytuacji utrudnione jest prowadzenie badań diagnostycznych i ewaluacyjnych, a zupełnie niemożliwe staje się przeprowadzenie odpowiedniej standaryzacji. Na szczęście, przy obecnym stanie prawnym status języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej jako przedmiotu maturalnego nie jest zagrożony. Wydaje się jednak, że jednym z głównych działań podejmowanych przez środowisko filologów klasycznych powinno być propagowanie wśród uczniów egzaminu maturalnego z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej. Wsparciem w tym zakresie byłoby szersze uwzględnianie tego egzaminu w postępowaniu rekrutacyjnym na najbardziej popularne kierunki. Być może także nowa formuła egzaminu okaże się bardziej przystępna i atrakcyjna dla potencjalnych zdających, co może przełożyć się na zwiększenie albo przynajmniej utrzymanie na stałym poziomie liczby zdających ten egzamin.

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[18] W sesji egzaminacyjnej 2023 do egzaminu z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej w nowej formule przystąpiło 137 absolwentów 4-letniego liceum ogólnokształcącego, natomiast do egzaminu w starej formule 23 osoby. Dla porównania – w 2022 r. egzamin zdawały 153 osoby. Zob. https://cke.gov.pl/egzamin-maturalny/ (dostęp 28.11.2023 r.).

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[1] Accedunt volumina aliquot, quorum, licet ad nos ante annum MMXXII missa essent, nullam perperam in prioribus indicibus mentionem fecimus.